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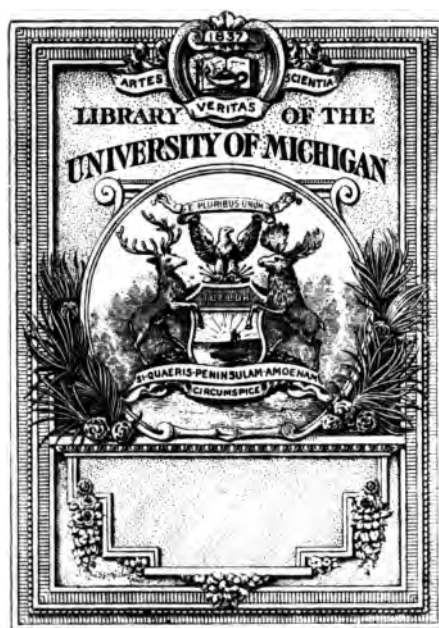
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SICILY
IN FABLE, HISTORY, ART
AND SONG

BY
WALTER COPLAND PERRY

AUTHOR OF
'GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE,' 'THE WOMEN OF HOMER,' 'THE BOY'S ODYSSEY'
'THE BOY'S ILIAD,' 'SANCTA PAULA,' ETC.

WITH MAPS OF SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY,
CARTHAGINIAN POSSESSIONS, CARTHAGE,
AND A CHART OF SYRACUSE

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1908

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I DEDICATE THIS LITTLE BOOK
TO MY WIFE
IN PLEASANT REMEMBRANCE OF A LONG AND HAPPY
SOJOURN IN THE LOVELIEST OF ISLANDS
AND OF MUCH ENCOURAGEMENT
AND HELP



PREFACE

IN preparation for writing this short history of Sicily I have made a careful study of the sources, both Greek and Roman, including Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Diodorus, Polybius, Cicero, Livy, Cæsar and many others, including the *History of Greece*, by Grote, the great interpreter of Thucydides. Few countries have engaged the attention of more illustrious men.

I have also read the great work of Holm, *Sicilien im Alterthum*, of which I have made great use.

His work is a rich mine of Sicilian lore, and ought to be translated. But I fear that it would be considered "heavy" by the idle readers of the present generation, who seldom read history, but only the fringe of history—magazines, biographies, reviews, and newspaper articles.

So much has been written about Sicily that a new work of this kind may be considered superfluous. The excellent work of Freeman is mainly ethnological and will only appeal to a few serious students.

I contend that there is no history in English, at any rate suited to the general reader, who wishes to learn the *facts* of Sicilian history.

I hope that the inaccuracies, anachronisms, and other mistakes found in this work will be forgiven to my 94 years.

WALTER COPLAND PERRY.

ATHENÆUM CLUB,
1908.

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CHAPTER I

LONG NEGLECT OF SICILY

AFTER centuries of neglect, Sicily has again attracted the regard of historians, antiquarians, and the numerous class of sightseers and lovers of the beautiful and picturesque.

It is not difficult to account for this long inattention, or for the present enthusiastic appreciation of the lovely island. It is more than probable that the Greeks would have colonised Sicily at a much earlier date than they actually did, had they not been deterred by the fearful account which Homer gave them of its inhabitants—its bloodthirsty giants, its cannibal Læstrygones, its seductive enchantresses, its Scylla and Charybdis. And so, in recent ages, the people of Western Europe were, for a time, frightened away from its shores by reports of brigands and the savage acts of the Mafia.

But, surely, there is no land beneath the sun more entitled to our regard by its unrivalled natural beauty, its varied history, both legendary and authentic, its romantic myths, the astounding events recorded in its annals, and the strange character of its people and their rulers. The authentic records of Sicily would supply the plot and action of a hundred tragedies, not less singular, engrossing, and terrible than those of Æschylos and Sophokles.

Happily for posterity, the most striking event in the history of Sicily—I mean the siege of Syracuse by the Athenians—has been related by the greatest of historians, Thucydides. His description of the splendid fleet and army sent forth by Athens, at the height of her prosperity and glory, for the conquest of Syracuse—of their naval and military operations in Sicily, of their alternate victories and defeats, of their final destruction, and the fate of the miserable survivors who fell into the hands of their merciless foes—presents us with the most vivid, tragic, and pathetic picture of war ever drawn by the hand of man. One of the most serious and regrettable losses in the sphere of letters is that of the rich Sicilian literature. Nothing has come down to us but the charming verses of Theokritos, the History by Diodorus Siculus—who wrote in the time of Cæsar and Augustus—and a few short poems. Yet no one doubts that the influence of Sicily, by her philosophy, poetry, and art, has been very great; that some portions of her countless myths, her lovely idylls, her local traditions, her comedies and mimes, may be traced through the literature of Greece and Rome, and have, through them, become the common property of every civilised nation.

Among the leading characteristics and greatest charms of the Sicilians is their marked and indestructible individuality. Sicily has been the home of Phœnicians, Greeks, Romans, Saracens, Normans, and Italians. But she always remained *sui generis*; neither Greek nor Roman, nor Carthaginian, nor Saracen, nor Italian; but always Sicilian—restless, capricious, impulsive and violent—distinct, in thought, feeling, and action, from any other nation.

Sicily seemed destined by Providence to assume an important place in the ancient world, by her unique geographical position and her marvellous fertility. She forms a link between the two mighty continents, Europe and Africa, partaking of the character of

both, but is neither wholly European nor wholly African. Legend here fills the gap of history, and Virgil sings :

Hæc loca, vi quondam et vastâ convulsa ruinâ,
Disiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret ; medio vi pontus et undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes
Littore, diductas angusto interluit æstu ;
Dextrum Scylla latrans, lævum implacata Charybdis
Obsidet.

Ages ago, these coasts, in a wild confusion uphurled,
Were, it is said, torn fiercely asunder and doomed to remain
Severed, though once one land . . .
Scylla the right bank holds ; on the left implacable sits
Ever Charybdis. . . .

(Lord Bowen's Translation.)

Sicily, lying as a breakwater between two seas, separates the waters that wash the shores of Greece and Asia, from those which lave the coasts of Spain and Gaul. This position gave her unrivalled advantages for commerce ; and to those were added the extraordinary richness of her soil, which enabled her to maintain numerous and populous cities in affluence and power.

The interior of the island, though less fertile than the land nearer the coast, was eminently favourable to the rearing of cattle, and the large flocks of sheep and goats, so dear to the pastoral poets. The slopes of the hills which cover so large a part of the country, and especially those of Mount *Ætna*, were covered with forests of chestnuts and pine-trees, affording valuable timber for the construction of merchant vessels and ships of war. The superabundance of wild flowers enabled Sicilian bees to produce the far-famed honey of *Hybla*. It is difficult to say what was wanted, in this favoured region, to promote the welfare and happiness of man.

Though not quite so large as *Sardinia*, Sicily may be regarded as the centre of the Mediterranean, in

virtue of her more advantageous position and the greater richness of her soil. It is not surprising that a controversy has arisen upon the question whether she belongs to Africa or to Europe. On the one hand, the chains of mountains on both sides of the Straits of Messina seem to connect her with Italy, and her natural products are generally the same. On the other hand, modern scientific researches emphatically connect her with Africa, which she resembles, in the surpassing fertility of her soil; vines and olives, and many kinds of fruit-tree, grow without the aid of horticultural skill; and the crops of corn, which excited the wonder of the ancient world, made Sicily, for a long time, the inexhaustible granary of Rome.

CHAPTER II

THE GODS IN SICILY

THE first inhabitants of this fairy-land were, as might be expected, the blessed gods, demigods, and heroes,—Kronos, or Saturn, was the first king of Sicily as well as of Italy, and this country, like Italy, enjoyed under him a Golden Age. Zeus (Jupiter) succeeded as sole possessor and ruler; but he consented to a partition of the lovely island, for which the other gods were disputing with one another. Athene (Minerva) chose the region about Himera, and endowed it with warm healing springs. Artemis (Diana) the most popular of the deities in Sicily, as we learn from the idylls of Theocritus, chose the islet of Ortygia; and there the Nymphs created for her the far-famed fountain of Arethusa.

The great goddess Demeter (Ceres), daughter of Kronos (Saturn) and Rhea, and sister of Zeus (Jupiter), was a very prominent figure in the mythical history of Sicily; and by some was regarded as possessor of the whole island. Her daughter, Cora (Persephone, Proserpine), chose the middle district, about Henna, for its abundance of lovely wild flowers. One of the most interesting episodes in this mythology is the abduction of the youthful goddess by Hades (Pluto) and the wanderings of her mother, Demeter, in search of her.

The frequent earthquakes and other subterranean disturbances from which Sicily suffered, were naturally attributed to the agency of Hades (Pluto) the terrible lord of the lower regions. Cora loved to play in the flowery fields about Henna, with the two other maiden goddesses, Athene and Artemis. The dread god Hades saw her beside a wood near Lake Pergos, when in the sweet spring-tide she was gathering wild flowers in the meadows with her companions and attendant wood-nymphs. There the violets grew in such profusion that hunters complained of the perfume destroying the scent of their game and marring their sport.

Cora was collecting the flowers to be woven into a garment for almighty Zeus, when the gloomy god emerged from Tartarus, seized the luckless maid, in spite of all resistance, prayers, and tears, and carried her off to Syracuse. One of her attendants and play-mates, the nymph Cyane, resisted the ravisher, and piteously begged him to release her lovely mistress. All in vain! And the angry god, annoyed by her cries, changed her into a fountain which springs near Syracuse, two miles from the great harbour, and flows in crystal streams through papyrus bushes to the river Anapos.

The bereaved and distracted mother Demeter (Ceres) wandered over the earth in search of her lost daughter, clothed in the blackest robes of mourning, and carrying with her neither ambrosia nor nectar; but her search was fruitless. At last she went with Hecate, who pitied her, to Helios, the Sun-god, "who seeth all things," and he revealed to her that Aidoneus (Pluto or Hades) had carried her daughter to his dark abode, with the consent of Zeus.

Greatly incensed with her almighty brother, she withdrew from Olympos and dwelt among men in Sicily, which country, in her wrath, she afflicted with barrenness, vowing that she would never return to Olympos, nor would she allow corn to grow upon the earth until her daughter was restored to her.

In this dilemma Zeus, fearing lest the whole race of man should perish, sent Erebus to Hades (Pluto) to bring Cora back to her mother. Hades could not altogether disobey the will of Zeus; but he pleaded that she had eaten of a pomegranate, which, by the law of the Fates, doomed her to dwell in Tartarus. However, a compromise was effected, namely, that she should spend the winter months in the dusky realm of her husband, and in the spring return to the sunlit earth, and to her fond mother. Hermes (Mercury) conducted her to Eleusis, where she and Demeter (Ceres) were ever after worshipped with peculiar honours both by Greeks and Romans. Zeus is said to have given the whole island of Sicily to Demeter (Ceres) as a consolation for the outrage on her daughter. She was pleased with the gift, and made it the most fertile land in the world.

Statues of Demeter and Cora were wrought by Praxiteles; and images of the sorrowing Mother exist in the Vatican at Rome, in the British Museum, and elsewhere.

CHAPTER III

APHRODITE AND ERYX

IN Sicily, as in other countries of antiquity, the most popular goddess was Aphrodite (Venus). There is no doubt that her worship came from the East; she is, in fact, identical with the unchaste goddess Mylitta in Babylon, and with the Semitic goddess Astarte. The legend that she rose from the sea indicates her foreign origin; and it is certain that she was worshipped in Sicily in the earliest times, and that her cult was first introduced by Phœnician settlers.

On rising from the sea she landed in Cythera, and went thence to Cyprus, the two chief seats of her worship. As she walked along the shore, in unveiled beauty, attended by Eros (Cupid) and Himeros (Desire), the flowers sprang up beneath her feet and filled the air with their odour. Then she ascended to Olympus, and took her place on a golden throne as one of the blessed gods.

The chief seat of her cult in Sicily was Mount Eryx, which received its name from one of her numerous sons. The popular legend carries the connexion between Aphrodite and Sicily back to the time of the expedition of the Argonauts. When the demigods who manned the famous ship *Argo* were passing the rock on which the two seductive Sirens sat and sang, Orpheus, knowing the dangerous allurements of their

sweet voices, tried to drown them in the heavenly music of his own lyre. He succeeded in saving all the Argonauts but one, named Butes, a son of the great ruler of the sea, Poseidon (Neptune). To him the dulcet tones of the Sirens proved irresistible, and he threw himself into the sea. But Aphrodite (Venus) took pity on him, and bore him in her arms to Lilybæum in Sicily, where she bare him a son, and called him Eryx.

He founded a temple to his mother on Mount Eryx, where a number of slaves, called Hierodules, were given to the goddess and made to increase the treasures of the temple by their labour. Thousands of doves were kept there, but disappeared during a part of the year while the great goddess was in Africa. After nine days of absence they returned to Eryx, led by a red dove, which was Aphrodite herself. Doves still swarm there, and the Christian priests have tried in vain to banish these "Pagan devils."

Artemis (Diana), too, as guardian of herds and flocks, and a great huntress in field and forest, was loved and devoutly worshipped by the Sicilians, especially in the centre of the island, whose inhabitants were devoted to pastoral pursuits and to the pleasures of the chase. Her influence pervades the charming pastoral idylls of the sweet singer, Theocritus.

Of course the other great Olympian gods—Zeus (Jupiter), Hera (Juno), Poseidon (Neptune), Phœbus Apollo, Hephaistos (Vulcan), and Hermes (Mercury)—were also worshipped; but I have spoken more at large of the above, because they were more specifically Sicilian deities.

One of the earliest cults, however, and by far the strangest, was that of the Παλικοί (Palici), who were chiefly worshipped in the neighbourhood of Mount Ætna, and are peculiar to Sicily.

They were the sons of Zeus (Jupiter) and the nymph Thaleia. In her dread of the wrath of the

jealous Hera (Juno) she begged Zeus to cause the earth to swallow her up. This was done, and, after a time, she sent up two sons to the upper world, where they were named Παλικοὶ, from τοῦ πάλιν ἰκέσθαι, "having arrived again."

Their worship, as we have said, was closely connected with Mount Ætna, and more especially with a crater in its neighbourhood, filled with water to an unfathomable depth. It is said that human sacrifices were offered to these strange demons, which attests the early origin of the traditional belief. Their sanctuary formed an asylum for runaway slaves, who were there supported and protected by the demigods or their priests. Near the shrine of the Palikoi were two springs of hot water, called "Delli," regarded as Brothers. Into these wells, tablets, inscribed with vows or prayers, were thrown; if they floated on the surface, the vows were considered faithful, and the prayers were heard. But, if they sank, the offerer was convicted of falsehood, and was put to death.

The Palici or Palikoi are mentioned both by Virgil and Ovid. Their worship prevailed chiefly among the early inhabitants of Sicily, the Sicans and the Sicels.

CHAPTER IV

HERAKLES IN SICILY

AMONG the demigods who played a prominent part in Sicily, one worshipped throughout the land was Herakles (Hercules), who was also an Asiatic deity under the name of Melkar, worshipped by the Sidonians, and by some Europeans.

According to the familiar legend, Herakles (Hercules) was ordered by the tyrant Eurystheus, for whom, by her artifices, Hera had secured the position of first-born son of Zeus, to bring away the oxen of Geryon. He was a three-headed giant, dwelling in the fabled island of Hesperia, which lay under the rays of the setting sun, near to the Balearic Islands, or to the Straits of Gibraltar or to Cadiz. He was the son of Chrysaor, who sprang from the blood of the decapitated Medusa; his mother was the nymph Callirrhoe. This Geryon, who was king of Hesperia, possessed a breed of magnificent oxen, which grazed with the divine herd of Hades (Pluto), and were guarded by another giant, Eurytion, and by the two-headed dog, Orthreus, the son of Typhon and Echidna.

On his way to Erytheia, Herakles (Hercules) was greatly annoyed by the heat of the sun's rays, and being very angry, he discharged one of his terrible arrows at the sun-god, Helios. Instead of being angry

with him, Apollo admired his courage, and gave him a golden vessel, in which he sailed to Erytheia (Hesperia). There he landed, slew the two giants, Geryon and Eurytion, and the dog Orthreus, and returned the golden boat to Apollo. On his way back through Liguria he was opposed by Alebion, a son of Poseidon (Neptune), and his brother Dercynus, both of whom he killed, with the aid of his father, Zeus, who rained down stones upon his enemies. Hence the district between Massilia (Marseilles) and the river Rhodanus (Rhône) was called the "Campus Lapideus."

When he was driving the oxen near Rhegium (Reggio) one of them leaped into the sea, and swam across the Straits to Sicily. Herakles (Hercules) followed it, and rested in the town of Messina. There he was tormented by the noise of the cicadae; and he laid a curse upon them, and wished them dumb. The indulgent gods fulfilled his wish, and the cicadae of that district remained voiceless for evermore. When the stray ox of Herakles (Hercules) had reached the shore of Sicily it was seen by King Eryx, and placed among his own herds. Herakles (Hercules) came to claim it, and Eryx challenged him to single combat. Of course Herakles (Hercules), with his usual ease, defeated his opponent, and recovered his ox.

While he was marching along the northern coast of Sicily, the local nymphs of Himera attended upon him, and created the famous warm baths for his refreshment. In his march across the interior of the island he was attacked by a large army of Sicani, whom he dispersed, slaying their leader, Pediacretes, and others. In his wanderings on the plain of Leontini he came to Agyrion, where he was first worshipped as a god by his friend Iolaus. He said himself that he knew he was an immortal, because his footsteps, and those of his oxen, were permanently imprinted on the solid rock.

The next semi-divine hero of importance connected

with Sicily was Minos, king of Crete, and subsequently judge in Hades. He is intimately associated in history with the illustrious artist Dædalus. As Herakles (Hercules) is chiefly notable in the north and east of Sicily, so Minos is more heard of in the south. Dædalus is said to have been an Athenian, son of Metion, of the royal race of the Erechtheidæ; but he is also called a Cretan, because he lived and worked for a long time in Crete. At Athens he instructed his nephew Calus (Talus or Perdix) in his craft; but when the youth began to surpass him in skill, Dædalus grew jealous, and slew him. The Areopagus condemned him to death for the murder, and Dædalus had to flee for his life.

In Crete he was patronised by Minos and his queen Pasiphae, for whom he made the wooden cow; and when she brought forth the Minotaur he made the famous Labyrinth; which, for a long period, writers have declared to be entirely fictitious, but which, with many other Cretan myths, is being changed by excavators from fiction to fact. For the part he had taken in the queen's intrigues Dædalus was imprisoned by Minos, but he was released by Pasiphae. Not being able to procure a ship, he made waxen wings for himself and his son Icarus, and flew over the sea. But the unfortunate youth flew too high, and his wings were melted by the sun. Dædalus just skimmed the waves, and arrived safely in Sicily, where he was kindly received by Cocalus, king of the Sicans, the earliest settlers in the island.

Minos, furious at the miraculous escape of Dædalus, and grieved by the loss of his great architect and engineer, followed him with a large fleet to Heracleia (Minoa or Makara), and demanded the person of Dædalus. King Cocalus, recognising the superior power of Minos, received him with feigned goodwill, and ordered his daughter to prepare a bath for the great monarch. But he also gave secret instructions, according to which Minos was stifled by the vapour.

When the Cretan officers heard that their king had perished they assumed a threatening attitude towards Cocalus, who seems, however, to have easily persuaded them that Minos, by his carelessness, had really caused his own death. Meantime, the Sicans had burnt the fleet of Minos, and the Cretans, not unwillingly, remained in the island; they founded a town called Erigyon, in the interior.

Among the great works which Dædalus made in Sicily was a large reservoir from which the river Alabon flowed into the sea. In the neighbourhood of Agrigentum he built an impregnable rock fortress, in which Cocalus kept his treasures. For the goddess Aphrodite, he enlarged the summit of Mount Eryx for her temple, and placed in it, as an offering, a honeycomb of gold, not to be distinguished from the natural product of the bees. A statue in the town of Omphace was also considered to be his work.

Among the mortals who attained godhead by his eminent merit, and whose worship was widely spread in Sicily, was Aristæus, a powerful and beneficent deity, both feared and loved by his worshippers. According to the common tradition, he was the son of Apollo by the nymph Cyrene. The god first saw her when she was fighting with a lion, and carried her off to a place in Libya, to which her name was given. There she brought forth Aristæus. He received his education from the wise and virtuous Centaur, Cheiron, and married Antinöe. Among his sons was the unfortunate Actæon, the victim of Artemis' modesty. On the death of this beloved son Aristæus went to Ceos, which he delivered from a wasting drought by his intercession with Zeus.

On his return to Libya his mother Cyrene fitted out a fleet for him, in which he sailed to Sicily, not for conquest, but to advance the welfare of its inhabitants. He was the kind guardian of the flocks and herds, always ready to protect them from the scorching heat of summer and the consequent pestilence. He was

the instructor of the pastoral folk, not only in the rearing of cattle, but in the work of the dairy and the art of keeping bees. He was regarded with reverent affection as the θεός ἀλεξήτης, "the helpful deity"; and it was for his eminent services to mankind that he was raised to Olympus as a god (Virgil, *Georg.* 1. 14).

Another of the secondary deities worshipped throughout Sicily was Adranos. According to Ælian, a thousand dogs, sacred to him, were kept near his temple. These animals were kind to poor wayfarers, and took pity even on drunken men, and guided them home; but disorderly persons and thieves they devoured. Some writers connect him with the Phœnician god Andramalech, and derive his name from the Persian word "Adar," Fire, regarding him as the personification of that element. Like Hephaistos (Vulcan) he was the father of earth-born genii. He carried a lance, as a god of war. In 400 B.C. Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, founded a town called Adranon, in which his cult was more especially cherished.

The Sicilian hero Daphnis was son of Hermes (Mercury) and a nymph. His mother exposed him in a laurel grove, from which he derived his name. He was found and reared by shepherds, became himself a shepherd, and tended flocks on Mount Ætna. He was a great favourite of Apollo, and was regarded as the inventor of bucolic poetry. A beautiful nymph, Echenais, fell in love with him, and made him promise to be faithful to her; if not, she would strike him blind. He forgot his vow with a princess who had treacherously supplied him with strong drink. He became totally blind; but he prayed to his father Hermes (Mercury), who endowed him with immortality, and took him up to heaven. Hermes caused a spring to flow at the spot from which he rose, where the Sicels offered annual sacrifice. Ovid relates that he was changed into a stone for his infidelity: "quem

nymphae pellicis ira contulit in saxum." Theocritus, who frequently invokes him as inspirer of poetry, has yet another tale. Daphnis was seeking his beloved maid Poplæa, whom robbers had carried off to Phrygia for King Lityerses. This monarch challenged all strangers to a match in mowing, defeated them, and then mowed off their heads. Herakles (Hercules) saved Daphnis by accepting the tyrant's challenge, defeating him, and cutting off his head with his own scythe. Daphnis then recovered his lost love Poplæa. The wanderings of Odysseus (Ulysses) in Sicily are too well known to need long dwelling upon here.

Æneas, too, plays a great part in Sicily. He, also, sees Polyphemus, and the flames of Mount Ætna, beneath which the half-burnt body of the giant Enceladus writhes in agony and shakes the island with earthquakes. Steering round Cape Pachynos, at the southern extremity of Sicily, he sails along the south coast, where lie Camarina, Akragas (Agrigento, now Girgenti), and Drepanon (now Trapani), where his father, the aged Anchises, dies. He is driven thence to Africa by a terrible storm. After the episode with Dido, the Queen of Carthage, he returns to Drepanon, and there meets Acestes (a son of the river-god Crimissus and of Egesta), who had lately returned from Troy, with Elymos, a natural son of Anchises. By them Æneas is hospitably received; and out of gratitude he built for them the towns of Elyme and Segesta, in which the Elymi took up their permanent abode.

Here Æneas and Acestes celebrated the funeral games in honour of Anchises. At the foot of Monte Giuliano, near Trapani, there is an extensive grassy spot, well suited for the chariot races which Æneas instituted. There are, also, the low black rocks of Asinello, on which he hung branches to mark the goal of the race-course.

Orestes also, in his flight from the pursuing Erin-

nyes (Furies), bearing with him the image of Artemis (Diana), is said to have visited Sicily, after having been cleansed, at Regium in Italy, of his guilt of matricide. But this account does not accord with the accepted legend of Orestes.

CHAPTER V

EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF SICILY

SICILY was not the home of one people, nor do its place and fame in history belong to one indigenous homogeneous nation. It was rather the battlefield of many foreign nations contending for its possession. Its position, in close proximity to both Europe and Africa, as has been remarked, made it a much coveted prize, for which East and West contended with all their forces during the greater part of its history.

The long struggle was mainly between Aryans and Semites, represented respectively by Greeks and Phœnicians, and between the Olympian gods and Moloch. Its high place in history, the glory of its extensive dominion, its wealth and power, its pre-eminence in literature and art, were gained for it by the Greeks.

If an ancient Greek were asked who were the earliest inhabitants of Sicily, he would probably mention the Cyclops, the Læstrygones, Scylla and Charybdis, Calypso and Circe, and other wonderful and terrible beings, of whom we read in Homer, and the belief in whose existence was not without influence upon the history of the Greeks.

Historically speaking, however, there is no doubt that the earliest dwellers in Sicily were the Sicani and the Siceli, both of whom were offshoots of the

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Latin race. The Sicani were immigrants who, according to Thucydides, came from the river Sicanus, in Iberia; they lived in all parts of the island, until driven out or absorbed by their successors, the Siceli; but the Sicani dwelt principally in the west of the island, where modern antiquarians think that they have found traces of many of their towns. They appear to have been a weak and sluggish race, who offered little or no resistance to the tide of immigrants which flowed into the country from every quarter. They made no mark in the annals of Sicily; and very little is known of them. We shall therefore give them but little space in this brief history.

The best known of the Sicanian towns was Hyccara, which lay to the west of Palermo; it was, according to Thucydides, destroyed by Nicias when he invaded Sicily. It was so called from "hykkai" (a fish), and, contrary to the usual practice, was built on low ground for the convenience of fishing. Hyccara was the birthplace of the younger Lais, the notorious Greek "hetaira," who played so great a part among the statesmen and philosophers of Greece. She lived mostly in Corinth, but accompanied Hippolochus, with whom she had fallen in love, to Thessaly, where she died a very natural death, having been stoned by Thessalian women in the temple of Aphrodite for being so beautiful.

We do not certainly know which was the capital city of Cocalus, king of the Sicani, but modern antiquarians think its remains may be found in Garbolongi. Some writers say it was Imykon; more probably, it was the town of Camicus; whichever it was, we know that it was fortified for the king by the illustrious architect Dædalus. Camicus was taken by the Romans in the First Punic War. There were many other Sicanian towns in the western half of Sicily. Among these were Halikai (Thucydides calls it Sicel) north of Salerno, between Belice and the

springs of the river Fati; Omphake, near Akragas (Agrigentum, now Girgenti), and Indora Krastor, famed for the beauty of its women. Each town of the Sicani had its own ruler and its own constitution, and stood in no political connexion with any other city. The Sicani are frequently mentioned by Virgil, and two youths of that race were competitors in the funeral games in honour of Anchises.

The Elymi, who preceded the Siceli as settlers in Sicily, were an Oriental people, probably from the interior of Asia. According to Thucydides, they were composed of fugitive Trojans and Phocians, likewise from Troy, who were driven by a storm, first to Libya and then to Sicily, where both tribes settled down by the side of the Sicani; Thucydides calls them barbarians. The Oriental origin of the Elymi is attested by their friendship with the Phœnicians, with whom they sided against the Greeks.

The Elymi worshipped the Phœnician Venus, Astarte. There was a land in inner Asia, called by the Greeks "Elymæ," whence, as some believed, the worship of Aphrodite came to Greece.

The chief towns of the Elymi were: (i) Segesta, the oldest coins of which bear the inscription, "Segesta," not "Egesta," which was Greek. (ii) Eryx, which was built upon a hill, 2000 feet above the sea. The ancient temple of Aphrodite (Venus) on the summit, is now occupied by the church of San Giuliano. In the First Punic War, Hamilcar brought down the inhabitants of Eryx from the hill, to Drepanon (*hodie*, Trapani) on the plain. (iii) Entella, named after the wife of Acestes, which stood on the hill Belice, and is still called Bocca d'Entella.

By far the more important of the earliest settlers in Sicily were the Siceli, who have fixed their name on the island for all time.

Thucydides tells us that the Siceli, being driven out of Italy by the Opici, crossed the Straits of Messina on rafts, and drove the Sicani to the west of the

island, about the year 1030 B.C. They, too, were kindred of the Latins, and were found in Italy long after their migration to Sicily. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that Rome itself was inhabited by Sicels; and Varro proves their kinship with the Romans from their language; for example, they called a hare, "leporis," and a key, "catinum." They have been well called, "undeveloped Latins." There are, of course, many other theories about the origin of the Siceli, for which we have no space in this brief history. Their territory extended from the Cimmerian forest to the Alban hills; and in earlier times, they appear to have lived in Picenum, Epirus, and even Macedonia. In the southwest corner of Lower Italy the Greeks, in the eighth century B.C., found Sicel dwellers; and Thucydides expressly states that they were still there in his time. The Sicels were an active and important people long after the arrival of the Greeks in Sicily, while traces of the Sicani are difficult to find. They were not a maritime people, and they quickly yielded coasts and harbours to the Greeks: they retired into the interior of the island, best adapted to the pursuit of their favourite pastoral occupations and pleasures.

It has been remarked as very strange, that while the whole valley of the Simailhos was so full of towns, there were so few in the south valley of the river Himera. Neither Sicani nor Siceli dared to occupy this region. Of what were they afraid?

The Western Hellenes, as we learn from the *Odyssey* of Homer, regarded the Sicels as a barbarous people. One of the haughty suitors at Ithaca advises Telemachus thus: "If thou wouldst take my advice, cast these strangers on board a ship, and send them to the Sicels, from whom they would fetch a good price."

There is reason to believe that the Sicels worshipped Demeter (Ceres) before her worship was introduced by the Greek invaders. As goddess of Corn, she was especially honoured in a country whose harvests excited the wonder and admiration of the world.

Different opinions were held as to the courage of the Sicels. They were generally regarded as unwarlike, probably because, numerous as they were, they offered so little resistance to the Greek intruders. They were certainly no match for the Greeks; but we must remember that it was just the bravest and most adventurous of the latter who undertook the hazardous task of conquering the great island of Sicily. While the Sicels roamed on every sea in the wake of the Etruscans, they could hardly have been wanting in enterprise and courage; but the wild restless spirit, which had made them bold pirates and robbers, was greatly modified and calmed down after their settlement in so fair and rich a land.

CHAPTER VI

THE PHŒNICIANS

THE Greeks were preceded in the colonisation of Sicily not only by the Sicans and Sicels, but also by the Phœnicians, in whom they found a formidable and persistent foe.

The ancients attributed the invention of navigation to the Phœnicians, and even in later times the Greeks admired the exact order which ruled on board their vessels, the skill with which they utilised every corner of the ship, the careful disposition of the cargo, and the vigilance of the pilot. The prophet Ezekiel gives a full and picturesque account of the perfection and beauty of the Phœnician ships: "Thou, O Tyre, hast said, 'I am perfect in beauty.' Thy borders are in the midst of the seas. Thy builders have perfected thy beauty; they have made all thy planks of fir-trees from Senir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make thy masts; of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars; they have made thy benches of ivory inlaid in boxwood, from the isles of Chittim; of fine linen, of brodered work from Egypt, was that which thou spreadedst forth to be thy sails; blue and purple, from the isles of Elisha, was that which covered thee. The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy rowers; thy wise men, O Tyre, were in thee; they were thy pilots!"

The Phœnicians, from the earliest times, distributed the wares of Egypt and Babylon to the rest of the world. Their vessels, the round γαῖλος, and the great ships of Tarshish, attained a degree of speed which the Greeks could never reach. Before the arrival of the Greeks, the Phœnicians crossed into Sicily by the Straits of Messina; but after that they preferred to sail along the coast of Sicily. A powerful blow was struck by the Greeks at Naxos for Apollo, and for Athene at Ortygia, against the bloody rites of Moloch and Ashtaroth; and then began the long struggle between East and West, between Semite and Aryan, and, at a later period, between Heathenism and Christianity.

The Phœnicians were pushed back by the Greeks in Sicily about 690 B.C., the date of the founding of Gela. But Selinus and Himera seem to have marked the limit of the Greek advance towards the northwest coast, which was held by Phœnicians. It would seem that the Greeks very soon deprived the Phœnicians of their trade with Egypt, for we find no mention of that important country in the full list of places with which the Tyrians traded.

Both Phœnicians and Greeks in Sicily were for a long time independent. Their cities were but younger sisters of Tyre and of Greece, not subjects or vassals. Tyre, for example, was the parent but not the mistress of Carthage, and the same may be said of the relation between Corinth and Syracuse. At a later period, indeed, Carthage established her dominion over Utica, in Africa, Panormos (Palermo), and Motye, in Sicily, once free and independent commonwealths. The Phœnician settlement in Sicily took place much earlier than that of the Greeks, and no doubt exercised a considerable Oriental influence over Western civilisation.

In the three great basins of the Mediterranean their influence was in early times predominant; but the eastern bay of the island of Sicily, and the centre

of the island, quickly yielded to the Greeks. Yet the Phœnicians for centuries jealously maintained their power in its western parts. They retired to their cities of Panormos, Soloeis, and Motye, and they did so with the less reluctance because their object, at first at any rate, was to carry on a lucrative trade rather than to acquire a wide dominion. Their position on the west coast answered this main purpose, affording them the widest scope for their commerce and the privilege of sailing unmolested over the ocean.

Panormus (Palermo) is the first city which we know for certain to have been Phœnician, though its Phœnician name has not been preserved. It was, and is, celebrated for the surpassing beauty of its situation. The noble bay on which it stands is formed by the isolated Monte Pellerino and Cape Zafarina. The city lies on the western shore of the bay amidst a panorama of hills, which, continually decreasing in height, range down to Cape Zafarina. Only two valleys open to the northwest and southeast, the latter called "the Valley of the gold mussel shells—Concha d'Oro."

Not far east of Palermo lies Soloeis, also a main settlement of the Phœnicians. Its site is marked by Solanto, which lies south of Cape Zafarina. The promontory of Pachynus was of great importance to the Phœnicians, as the first place they reached when coming from the west.

Lilybæum, lying on the west coast, afforded great advantages to the Phœnicians, because it secured their passage to the west. It was one of the great centres of their activity, and we can well understand why they concentrated their force in the west of Sicily, and held these towns with such pertinacity both against Greeks and Romans.

Himera, another Phœnician settlement farther to the east along the north coast of Sicily, was celebrated for its warm baths, said to have been created by Herakles (Hercules). Segesta (Phœnician), like Panormus and

Motye, bore on its coins a dog, one of the animals sacred to Aphrodite (Venus). Cephaloidion, though, at a later period inhabited by Sicels, is included in Thucydides' list of Phœnician towns. Many others are noticed as Phœnician by ancient authors, as Arbela, one of the few in the interior; Amathe, the site of which is unknown; Tabai (*hodie*, Tavi), near Leonforte; Ameselon, Bidis, Maktorion, and others.

Peloris, the promontory, was occupied by the Phœnicians. The name of Orion is connected with it, as an Oriental hero. Egyptian gods were worshipped at Catana, as is seen on its later coins. The site of Leontini was once occupied by Phœnicians; both it and Syracuse show many signs of an early Phœnician settlement.

CHAPTER VII

THE GREEKS

THE arrival of the Greek colonists in Sicily changed the whole aspect of its history, and gave it wonderful interest and charm.

Homer seems to have known nothing certain either of Italy or Sicily, and the tales he tells were not calculated to lead the Greeks of his age to visit the island.

Nor were the fears of the Greeks entirely groundless. As their navigation was necessarily confined to coasting, it was highly dangerous to sail along the shores of Italy, and still more so to proceed farther to Sicily. The Etruscans would not allow any strangers to navigate their waters, and were very formidable foes. The trade of Sicily was already in the hands of the adventurous and skilful Phœnicians, who watched for and destroyed the ships of all other nations. Strabo relates that a Roman skipper, anxious to find his way to the Cassiterides, the tin islands (off our Land's End) of England, followed in the wake of a Phœnician vessel which he knew to be sailing thither. The Phœnician captain, guessing his object, purposely ran his own ship on some dangerous shallows. The Roman followed, nothing doubting, and both vessels were wrecked; but the Phœnicians saved themselves, and

were richly rewarded by their government, while the Romans perished.

But Italy and Sicily at an early period were not entirely unknown to the Greeks. The story goes that Menestheus, on his return from Troy, touched at Scylletium, and that Philoctetes founded Metella and Makalla; and Nestor and Epeios, Metapont, in Magna Græcia. But the only allies of Priam who made a lasting settlement in Sicily were the Elymi, in whom there were Semitic elements.

According to Strabo, Hesiod must have had some knowledge of Sicily when he spoke of the promontory of Peloris as having been piled up by Orion, and also of Mount Ætna and Ortygia.

There are certainly clear indications of a Greek settlement in Cumæ, which was founded by Chalcidians before the migration of Æolians to Asia Minor. Strabo merely says that Cumæ was the oldest of Italian or Sicilian colonies. It seems highly probable that the Greeks who came into relations with Cumæ learnt something about Sicily and Lower Italy.

The notices of this early relation between Hellas, Italy, and Sicily are, indeed, vague in the extreme, but they are sufficient to modify the general opinion, founded on the history of Thucydides, that Italy and Sicily were not visited by Greeks until the eighth century B.C. Yet the real Hellenism came first to Sicily with Theocles and Archias, when they founded Naxos and Syracuse.

In the migration to Sicily the lead was taken by two cities, one Ionian and the other Dorian, Chalcis and Corinth. Their very position made them mercantile, the former lying on the most important strait of Greece and the latter on the most important isthmus. Chalcis was the older and the closer to the sea, and for a time at least, the earliest in the field and the more important. Chalcis held very high rank in those early times; and the Pythia supported her claim to pre-eminence, saying that "the best

of men were those who drank the water of Arethusa."

It seems to have been by accident that, in 735 B.C., the Athenian Theocles went to Sicily. He is said to have been driven thither by a violent storm. Once there, however, he soon learnt the groundlessness of his fears of destructive monsters and of the "warlike Sicels." He was immediately struck by the extraordinary richness of the land. On his return to Athens he proposed to his fellow-citizens to found a colony in Sicily; but they would not join him, either because they did not trust his glowing descriptions of the island, or because they were still under the influence of Homeric ideas of its inhabitants.

He then turned to Chalcis, which gave him a ready hearing, and entered enthusiastically into his plans. Other Ionians and some Dorians joined in the expedition, the Chalcidians founding Naxos, and the others, mostly Megarians, the colony of Megara Hyblæa. Some of the Dorians who had joined Theocles went no farther than the Italian promontory of Zephyrion, and remained there till, in the following year, they were taken by Archias to Syracuse. The account of Thucydides differs from this; according to him Naxos alone was founded, and the foundation of Megara was not so closely connected with it, but took place independently and some time afterwards.

Naxos lay at the point at which one coming from Italy would naturally land. But as Theocles came from the south point of Italy and steered west, he saw for some time only a narrow strip of coast, beneath impending rocks, on which it was impossible to make a settlement. The nearest suitable place for his purpose was Cape Schiso, a little south of Mount Taurus, on which Tauromenium (Taormina) was afterwards built. He was probably deterred from going farther south by the nearness of Mount Ætna, from which, at Naxos, he was separated by a deep valley and the river Acesines (*hodie*, Cantara).

The place was called Naxos, because the Ionian followers of Theocles, of whom the historian Ephorus speaks, were from Naxos in Greece. On landing, Theocles erected on the strand an altar to Apollo "Archegetes," the divine leader of the colony. This altar was held so sacred by the Greeks that the Theoroi, religious ambassadors sent to invite the Sicilian Greeks to the great festivals of the mother country, used to make a last sacrifice on it before returning home. Ferrara says that the pillar statue of St. Pancratius stands on the site of this altar, so that the first Greek god who settled permanently in Sicily is succeeded by the first evangelist; we know that the early Christians gladly chose such hallowed spots. There was also an Aphrodisium, which was probably older than the altar of Theocles, and of the same period as the temple on Mount Eryx. But the chief and most popular god was Bacchus, from whose favoured island the colony took its name. The oldest coins of Naxos bear a crowned head of the god on the obverse and a bunch of grapes on the reverse.

The Greeks, on their first appearance in Sicily, were well received by the ancient inhabitants, the Sicans and Sicels, and no serious resistance was offered to the colonists. Happily, both these nations were Aryans, and no doubt of a stock kindred to the Hellenes as well as to the Latins, and they had many points of agreement in religion. Though the Sicels were far in advance of the Sicans, they were utterly unable to cope with the Greeks, the most intellectual and highly gifted people of the human race, whose qualities, developed by freedom, not corrupted by despotism or by injurious superstition, made them superiors, masters, and teachers of all the nations with whom they came into contact.

The Sicans and the Sicels, then, at once recognised this superiority, both physical and intellectual, of the Greeks, and were easily though slowly assimilated with their community. It was not only in the nobler

gifts, however, of the intellect that the Greeks were superior to the comparatively simple and guileless Sicels and Sicans; they surpassed them quite as much in cunning and artful diplomacy. Throughout their history the Greeks showed themselves true disciples of Ulysses, "the man of many devices," whom they honoured for his successful intrigues as highly as they did Nestor for his wisdom, and Achilles for his prowess.

Attracted by the good news of the successful settlement in Naxos under Theocles, the Corinthians turned their attention to Italy and Sicily, and began to carry out his system of colonisation in the west. The expedition of the Corinthians was undertaken under singular circumstances.

In Corinth at that time there lived a citizen named Melissus, whose father, Abron, a born Argive, had done the Corinthians good service against the Argive tyrant Pheidon, and was compelled by party strife to leave Argos and go to Corinth. He had warned a thousand Corinthian youths, whom Pheidon had hired as mercenaries, that the tyrant meant to massacre them; he thus saved their lives. The son of Melissus, Actæon, surpassed all other youths in beauty and virtue, so that many sought his favour; amongst them Archias, who, as Actæon refused to live with him, determined to use force. With a troop of soldiers he besieged the house of Melissus; a fight took place, and Actæon was killed. The unhappy father brought the dead body of his son to the market-place, and tried to rouse the citizens; but they feared the power of Archias, and gave him only sympathy and compassion.

At the next celebration of the Isthmian games Melissus appeared before the temple of Poseidon (Neptune), which stood on a hill. He reminded the assembly of all that his father, Abron, had done for Corinth, and of its ingratitude; he cursed the reigning family, the Bacchiadæ, and then threw himself from

the rock. A pestilence broke out, and the Delphic oracle declared that the wrath of Poseidon could only be appeased by an atonement for the murder of Actæon. Archias, who was at Delphi and heard the decree of the Pythia, went voluntarily into exile, and founded Syracuse.

CHAPTER VIII

FOUNDATION OF SYRACUSE, 734 B.C.

WHEN the Corinthians decided to colonise in Italy and Sicily they sought the sanction of the Delphic oracle. At Delphi, Archias met Myscellus, a Herakleid of Rhypai in Achaia, who also wished to found a colony. The god asked each of them which they preferred, health or wealth. Myscellus chose the former, Archias the latter; so Myscellus was sent to Croton, in Magna Græcia, and Archias to Sicily, where he founded Syracuse on the islet of Ortygia.

There was a division in the family of the Bacchiadæ; and one party took the side of Archias, and followed him to Sicily. Others, from Tenea, joined him, and among them a soothsayer of the prophets' family of Olympia, the Iamides, who were in a state of great prosperity in the time of Pindar. Eumelus, too, the poet of the family of the Bacchiadæ, was among the settlers. It is said that, during the voyage, Æthiops, one of the emigrants, sold his prospective portion of land in Sicily for a honey-cake.

Many stories were invented to glorify Archias in the eyes of the Greeks. He is said to have helped Myscellus to found Croton, and he put Chersicrates on shore, to found Coreyra (Corfu). He also touched at the Zephyrian promontory, where he met Dorians, who had just founded Megara, and took them with

him to Syracuse. On arriving off Sicily he passed by Naxos and sailed along the east coast, till he came to the point which offered the largest and most convenient harbour. There he landed on the isle of Ortygia, from which he expelled the Sicels.

Ortygia lies at the entrance of the noble harbour which attracted the attention of Archias, and which opens to the east along the north shore of the island. Opinions are divided on the question whether the site of the present fortress was originally covered by water or was always dry ground, and whether it belonged to Ortygia or to Sicily. The south harbour is about 1500 yards in length, varying in its breadth, which gradually diminishes to the eastward, till it opens with a curved point to the sea.

The most remarkable feature of Ortygia is the fountain of Arethusa, mentioned in the oracle granted to Archias. It rises on the west side of the island, very near the sea, from which it is separated by part of the city wall. It abounded in large fish; but to eat them was sacrilegious; and when this was done, in a time of dire dearth, terrible disasters befel the city. Among the most popular of Greek legends was that of the connexion between Arethusa and the river Alpheius, in Elis. Arethusa was an Eleian nymph, pursued by her lover, Alpheius. She escaped from him, and fled to Ortygia, where she rose as a spring of water. But Alpheius followed her there, and mingled his water with hers. On the days of the Olympian festival Arethusa became turbid from the blood of the oxen slain on the banks of the Alpheius. On one occasion a cup thrown into the Alpheius came up in the fountain of Arethusa. Pindar accepts this myth when he calls Ortygia the "holy resting-place" of Alpheius. The question was, How did Alpheius get to Sicily? Ovid represents Arethusa as diving from Elis through dark caverns, and coming to the upper air again in Sicily. The water of Arethusa failed for a time in A.D. 1506, but other springs

appeared near the Little Harbour, and dried up when Arethusa flowed again.

The situation of the Corinthian colony at Ortygia was eminently favourable for commerce. Like Corinth and Corcyra, it had two harbours; a greater, and a lesser called Laccius, which lay north of the islet, between it and the mainland of Sicily. This smaller harbour was only 1500 ft. long and 1000 ft. broad, and from 6 ft. to 10 ft. deep. The Great Harbour, occupying the whole bay, is about 3200 ft. in circumference; and not far from the western wall of Ortygia it is 20 ft. deep, and in the middle 30 ft. As the entrance, according to Thucydides, was not wider than eight stadia, about a mile, it was easy to defend the ships which lay within it. Syracuse is known as one of the best harbours in Europe. In Cicero's time the harbour was encircled by splendid buildings, for which reason it was called "the marble."

Tradition assigns two daughters to Archias, who received the names of Ortygia and Arethusa. He was slain, it is said, by a youth named Telephus, whom he loved; a well-deserved atonement for the murder of Actæon.

Ortygia, called *Nῆσος*, "the Island," was united to the mainland of Sicily, first by "a mound of choice stones," says the poet Ibycus, and then, in Strabo's time, by a bridge. The mainland adjacent was called Achradina, "the place of the wild pear-tree." There seems little doubt that Ortygia and Achradina formed one town, and Thucydides says that they were united by a wall. The market-place of Syracuse, which Cicero says was near the Great Harbour, was in the low ground north of Ortygia, and was encircled by a wall; he calls it the chief ornament of Achradina, in which also Dionysius built a great sun-dial near Ortygia. Ortygia contained the oldest temples, and was ennobled by the fountain of Arethusa. Private dwellings were mostly erected on the plateau of Achradina, while the low ground to the south was

occupied by the market-place, the public buildings, and the warehouses.

The largest quarries in Sicily are in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. They are hollowed out of the rock, and in Christian times were occupied by the Capuchin Friars, whose monastery stood on the edge of a precipice. These friars made a fruitful garden of the quarry, surrounded by rocks 100 ft. high, filling it with vegetables and flowers, orange-trees and fig-trees, cypresses and laurels. From amidst this luxurious growth rises an isolated pillar to the height of the encircling walls of rock, in which are hollowed out large halls with flat roofs. To the west of this quarry are three others, Latomie, Cassalea, and Novantiere; the two last dating from the earliest time of Syracuse. These quarries are best known as the dungeons of the Athenian prisoners of war after their defeat in the famous siege of the city in 413 B.C. They are mentioned as existing in the time of the philosopher Xenophanes. In the low ground south of Latomie are catacombs, with regular galleries hewn in the rock, and rooms, both square and round, with arched or flat roofs. These were used as sepulchres; but not by Greeks, whose graves were outside the city, according to their custom; the inscriptions over these vaults indicate the first introduction of Christianity.

CHAPTER IX

OTHER GREEK CITIES

SICILY became more and more pleasing to the Greeks as they learned to appreciate its exceptional advantages for agriculture and commerce; and the tide of immigration flowed on further and further. Many of the Chalcidians who arrived late found no room in Naxos, and had to make a settlement in the neighbourhood.

In Naxos they were north of the great boundary river of *Ætna*, and tolerably safe from the dreaded volcano. But the most fertile region lay to the south of the great mountain. Therefore, in 729 B.C., five years after the foundation of Syracuse, Theocles and his Chalcidians from Naxos founded Leontini, about four miles from the sea. The place was occupied by the Sicels, and he bound himself by treaty not to expel them; but, with true Greek duplicity, he admitted the Megarians, who did not consider themselves bound by the agreement.

Leontini was most favourably situated for agriculture, looking over the rich fields which were afterwards Catanian. The coins of Leontini bore, on the obverse, a lion's head, and on the reverse, an ear of barley. Apollo was the chief god of Leontini.

Naxos also, in 720 B.C., founded Catana, near the sea, on the rich slopes of *Ætna*; but they chose the most southerly point, that they might be as far as

possible from the eruptions. The river Amenas (*hodie*, Judicella) flowed through Catana, which combined almost every advantage for commerce, agriculture, and irrigation. The old coins of Catana have, on the obverse, a bull with a human head, and on the reverse, a Nike with a fillet on her head; the bull represents the river-god Amenanus. Other coins bear the head of Apollo, a reminiscence of Naxos and its cult of the Archegetes, its divine founder. Later coins bear a Silenus, which shows how greatly the cult of Bacchus had spread; it was, too, a natural emblem for a daughter of Naxos, dwelling in so rich a land.

Megara, too, took an active part in the colonisation of Sicily. The Megarians came to Sicily with Theocles and Archias, but made their settlement under the command of Lamis, who chose a site on the river Pantacyas and called it Trotilon. He soon moved on to Leontini with his followers, and was well received by the Sicels; but Theocles, by a cunning artifice, got possession of their arms under pretence that they were wanted to increase the splendour of a procession to the Twelve Gods. On the next day, when the disarmed Megarians were with the Chalcidians, a herald suddenly appeared and ordered them to leave the town before sunset. Unable to offer any resistance, they departed, and settled for a time on the peninsula of Thapsos (*hodie*, Isola di Magnisi), where Lamis, their leader, died. They then left Thapsos, and in 720 B.C. took up their permanent position in the Sicilian Hybla, where they were kindly received by the Sicel king, Hyblon; hence the name, "Megara Hyblaia."

The date of the Greek settlement at Zankle (Messene, *hodie*, Messina) was probably about 730 B.C. but it is not certain. The original name, Zankle, may have been derived from the "sickle" of Saturn. Orion is said to have made the harbour for Zanklos, king of the Sicels, in the form of a sickle, the Sicel name of which was "zankle."

Zankle was first occupied by pirates from Cumæ; these were succeeded by settlers from Chalcis and other Eubœan towns. Pausanias calls Perieres and Cratæmenes the leaders of the pirates, and designates the former as the founder of the town.

Seeing how advantageous it would be to have the opposite coast of Italy in friendly hands, the Zankleans called on their mother-city, Chalcis, to make a settlement there. So the Chalcidians, with the sanction and leadership of Apollo, and with the aid of Messenian exiles under Antimnestor, founded the important city of Rhegium (*hodie*, Reggio) on the Italian side of the Straits of Messina.

The coins of Zankle bore, on the obverse, a dolphin and a sickle; on the reverse, a field divided into thirteen parts, which generally showed a mussel in the centre. The harbour of Zankle (or Dankle, as it is called in the coins), that of Messina as known to us, was capable, says Diodorus Siculus, of sheltering six hundred vessels; even large ships could lie close to the shore, in water forty or fifty fathoms deep.

About twenty to twenty-four miles from the Pelorian promontory, outside the Straits of Messina, is a small peninsula, stretching some four miles into the sea. On this the Zanklians built a castle, called Mylæ (*hodie*, Milazzo) or Chersonesus, about 716 B.C. Thus, the east coast of Sicily and part of the north were rapidly colonised by the Greeks without serious opposition.

As the attention of Greek emigrants was now turned towards the south bay of Magna Græcia, a pause in their advance in Sicily ensued. By proceeding farther along either the north or the south coast the Greek adventurers would come to the centres of Phœnician power; and the south coast had no good harbours. Nevertheless, very early, settlements had been made on the south coast; but not by Greeks of Hellas, but mainly by Rhodians. The wealth and sea power of Rhodes are spoken of

in Homer's *Catalogue of Ships*; and Alexander Chronologos states that the wide sea dominion of Rhodes began 187 years after the raid of the Heracleides, and Strabo confirms this statement. A number of these people under Antiphemus or Deinomenes joined the Cretan, Entimus, a bold sailor, with men from the isle of Telos and from the Peloponnesus. Encouraged by a Delphian oracle, they started for Sicily in 689 B.C. (in the twenty-second Olympiad). Rounding the promontory of Pachynus, they landed in the middle of the most extensive bay on the south coast, at the mouth of the river Gela (now called the Fiume di Terranuova), and there, attracted by the fertile Geloan plains, they built a fortress which the Rhodians called "Lindioi," from their own city, Lindos, and round which the important town of Gela quickly grew up.

Gela lay on the right bank of the river, where the modern Terranuova now stands. At a short distance from the town the celebrated explorers, D'Orville and Fazell saw, still erect, a Doric pillar 24 feet high; and Fazell traced the foundations of a whole hexastyle temple, which were also seen by the Englishman, Leake. In the neighbouring necropolis of Gela, to the west, a number of coins and vases were found. The oldest coins of Gela have, on the obverse, the fore-part of a bull with a human head; on the reverse, in the larger coins, a chariot, and a horseman in the smaller.

But the town and territory of Gela were not acquired without war with the Sicels. In 648 B.C., half a century after the foundation of Gela, the Greeks pressed forward on the north coast still farther than on the south, and emigrants, mostly from Zankle, under Eucleides, Simos, and Sacon, founded Himera; so called either from Hemera (Day) or Himera (Lovely) from the beautiful views around it. The language of Himera was half Chalcidian and half Doric. The new town lay close to the borders of

the Sicans, perhaps within their territory. The oldest coins of Himera have the cock of Æsculapius on the obverse, and on the reverse a square field divided into eight triangles. Later coins show a satyr, sprinkled by a stream of water, which proves that the famous Thermæ (the present Termini) were in the territory of Himera. Some coins also bear a head of Hercules, for whom, as we know, the baths were created.

The Megarians, hemmed in by the Syracusans, soon followed the example of the Zanklians, and in the year 623 B.C. (Olympiad 38-1), under the leadership of Pammilus, founded the city of Selinus, at the mouth of the river of that name, so called from the parsley which grew on its banks. The country around Selinus was famous for its rich cornfields. Between the river and the marshy lowlands rose a range of hills, divided by a gentle depression of the summit, which was occupied by the oldest part of Selinus, the site being formed by two terraces; the south terrace, rising abruptly above the sea, was crowned by the citadel; on the north terrace were the private houses of the citizens; in the space between the two terraces was the market-place.

It is on the citadel terrace that we see the mighty architectural remains, as left by the destroying hand of the Carthaginians, and of the wall which ran round the harbour, which is still traceable.

The most ancient coins of Selinus have parsley on the obverse, and on the reverse, like those of Himera, a square divided into eight triangles, which indicates the cult of Herakles (Hercules).

The time was when the power of Selinus extended still farther east; for Heracleia, to the left of the mouth of the river Halycus, received a Selinuntian colony.

When the Megarians had thus almost reached the extremity of the south coast there remained, between the new colony and Gela, a spacious territory, well suited for another settlement. Here the men of

Gela, under Aristonous and Pystilus, founded the important city of Akragas (Agrigentum), (*hodie*, Girgenti), about eighteen stadia from the sea.

The site of the new town was a square table-land, somewhat irregular in form from the protrusion of the northwest corner. The position of the town is peculiarly favourable to defence, surrounded as it is by deep valleys, and enclosed on the south and west by two rivers, the Akragas and the Hypsos, which unite south of the city and reach the sea within a short distance.

According to Polybius, the citadel was in the north-east part of the town, and on it were two temples, to Athene and to Zeus Atabyrios, as in Rhodes, the mother-city of Gela, from which many adventurers joined in founding Agrigentum. These temples must then be looked for on the eastern part of the northern hill, now uninhabited, the west part of the hill being the modern Girgenti.

But the statement of Polybius may well be doubted, for no ruins are found on the east of the hill, and it is too narrow for an Acropolis, while the site of the modern Girgenti answers all requirements. From the Rupe Atenea there is a wide view of cornfields and groves, which cover the site of the ancient city, the walls of which are still visible. The northwest part of the old Akragas, where stands the modern Girgenti, shows marks of great activity in the large irregular caves which penetrate the hill. Their roofs are supported by huge pillars, and they are united by narrow passages. They were evidently stone quarries, like the famous Latomie at Syracuse. The Acropolis was separated from the city by a wall. The city had three large gates: to the west, the gate of Heracleia; to the east, the gate of Gela; to the south, the harbour gate (*hodie*, Porta Aurea); and perhaps two smaller gates near the temple of Hera (Juno), and near that of Castor and Pollux. The chief god of Akragas was Zeus (Jove), as is shown by its coins,

which bear on the obverse the eagle, and on the reverse a sea-crab, or other marine animal, in honour of Neptune (Poseidon).

Akragas owed its enormous wealth to the export of the abundant crops from its rich cornfields, and to the wide pastures on which cattle and horses of exceptional strength and beauty were reared. The present rather bad harbour of Girgenti is protected by a mole, composed of the ruins of the ancient temple of Zeus. The old harbour of Akragas was more to the east, at the mouth of the river.

But before the founding of Akragas Syracuse had made two settlements, Acræ and Henna. Thucydides expressly says that Acræ was colonised from Syracuse. The site of Acræ is not far from the sources of the river Anapos, southwest of the modern Palazzuolo. Here rises a hill whose upper surface, about a mile in circumference, falls to the south and west; the approach from the north and east is easier. From this height, called Acromonte, we see the whole south-eastern corner of Sicily, from the harbour of Augusta to the Megarian bay; while on the north side rises the mighty Ætna! Here, as is proved by coins and by a terra-cotta figure, and by the statements of ancient writers, stood Acræ upon a cold height, which, as Silius says, furnished ice and snow to the city of Syracuse. In this hill there is a peculiar system of subterranean passages, and at the foot of the south side of the rock are numerous niches, with some singular bas-reliefs. The town had, like Syracuse, extensive quarries. Acræ is distant about twenty-one miles from Syracuse, in the interior of the island; it must, consequently, have been chiefly dependent on agriculture, and it bears the goddess Demeter (Ceres) on its coins. It was founded 664 B.C.

The foundation of Henna (*hodie*, Castro Giovanni) shows the widely extended power of Syracuse over a great part of the island. It is called "the navel of Sicily," and lies about eighty miles from Syracuse.

Acræ, being on the direct way to Henna, was probably the first founded of the two towns. There seems little doubt that Henna received a Grecian colony, probably with the consent of the Sicels, who at a later period regained possession of the place. The Syracusans no doubt collected the corn grown in the interior of the country, for the use of their own city.

The first Syracusan colony on the coast in the vicinity was Casmenæ, founded B.C. 644, of which we hear little in history. Far more important was Camarina, founded in 599 B.C., a hundred and thirty-five years after the mother-city. It stood on a high hill on the sea-coast between the mouths of the rivers Oanis (*hodie*, Trascobara) and Hyparis (Camarana), forming the limit of the direct influence of Syracuse. Fazell and Munter found slight remains of the old town and the extensive harbour works; and, in the last century, the Prince of Biscari made excavations round Camarina, and brought to light a great number of precious vases. According to Thucydides, Camarina was founded by Dascon and Menecolus. The coins of this city bear a swan, the bird of Apollo, which here represents the Lake of Camarina.

The last Greek settlements, 530 B.C., were on the Lipari islands. The expedition was led by Gorgos, Thestor, and Epithersides. They were well received by the Sicel inhabitants.

CHAPTER X

POLITICAL HISTORY OF SICILY

THE Greeks, though the last people to settle in Sicily, some became predominant over the earlier immigrants, Sicans, Sicels, Elymi, and Phœnicians, as well by their courage and intellectual superiority, as by their civilisation. The history thenceforth of Sicily is mainly the history of the Greeks themselves; and many of the grandest and most romantic episodes in it were enacted on that wonderful stage.

In Sicily, as in other colonies, the tie between the colonists and the mother-country was that which binds children to their parents—reverence and love. The emigrants took with them, to their new homes, the sacred fire from the Prytaneum. They sent envoys to all the great festivals of Greece, and paid especial honours to visitors from the old country. It is to be remarked, and perhaps wondered at, that this filial piety did not involve political dependence.

The Greeks seem to have had no scruple in taking possession of the whole territory on which they settled, and in expelling the original inhabitants or reducing them to the condition of Spartan Helots. These serfs cultivated the land, and served as light troops in war.

The first settlers naturally became sole possessors of the land, and full citizens. New settlers came to the

more prosperous of the colonies, and were well received. They could reside in the city, and carry on trade and manufactures; but they could not possess land, the whole of which had already been apportioned. Nor could they attain the full political rights of the first settlers.

The new-comers settled, for the most part, near the sea, and engaged in commerce. After a time they surpassed the "gamoroi" or landowners, not only in numbers, but in wealth and civilisation. As they felt themselves fully equal to the original settlers, they became dissatisfied with their subordinate position; and, conscious of their strength, began to demand equal rights and dignity. Then the landowners had to make concessions, or to fight; and they generally preferred to fight.

Sometimes the matter was settled by the malcontents leaving the city *en masse*, and founding a new colony, in which all had equal rights. But it was too often settled in a less satisfactory manner. The state of discontent and conflict afforded a most favourable field for the establishment of tyrannies, which play so conspicuous a part in the history both of the mother-country and of the colonies. Some ambitious and enterprising citizen put himself at the head of the malcontents, who, in their blind rage against the aristocracy, were ready to follow anyone who indulged their passions and promised them plunder and revenge.

The ruling "Gamoroi" in Syracuse adopted the plan of sending out the disaffected to found new colonies; and it is expressly recorded that, in the forty-fifth Olympiad, the "Gamoroi" were still the dominant party. They alone could be magistrates and members of the Supreme Council. Citizens of the second class formed a popular Assembly, called the *Halia*, which, according to Doric custom, could not propose measures but simply accept or reject the propositions of the superior Council. A third class was formed by the

SYRACUSE. EXPULSION OF GAMORI 47

conquered Sicels, who, under the name of "Kallikyrioi," occupied the same position as the Spartan Helots.

A curious story is told of a dispute in Syracuse which led to the foundation of several colonies. Agathocles, a distinguished citizen, was made overseer of the building of the temple of Athene; and the city gave him the necessary stones. Some of these he used in the erection of his own house; but he paid the full price for them. The gods, however, were wroth with him, and destroyed his dwelling by lightning. The Gamori declared that the burnt site must be held as *Ἐμβροταῖον* (Bidental) and sacred to the gods; but the "Kleronomoi," on the other hand, declared that Agathocles had not defrauded the city. A conflict arose which ended in the victory of the Gamori; and they sent out the disaffected to found the colonies of Acræ, Henna, Casmenai, and Camarina. The foundation of Casmenai took place in 644 B.C., the same year as that of the fall of the Bacchidæ at Corinth and the establishment of Cypselus as tyrant; this change drove many Corinthians to settle in Sicily.

A quarrel between two aristocratic families in Syracuse about some love affair gave the people an opportunity, which they gladly used, to overthrow the power of the Gamori. The latter attempted, indeed, to regain their position, but without success, and were finally driven out of the city. The expulsion of the aristocratic party was followed by a period of great prosperity. Now, for the first time, Syracuse began to coin its own money, having hitherto always used foreign coins.

A different course of events is seen in Akragas (Agrigentum), the next city in importance to Syracuse. After little more than a century from its foundation a change took place in its constitution, under the following circumstances. The Sicilian Greeks, as we have observed, were remarkable for their skill in architecture, and for the piety with which they lavished enormous sums of money in raising splendid temples

to the gods. As the existing temples of Akragas (Agrigentum) did not seem to the citizens worthy of the gods or of themselves, they made plans for the erection, in the citadel, of a sanctuary on the grandest scale, dedicated to the greatest of their gods Zeus Polieus (Jupiter), Warder of the City, and they voted two hundred talents for the completion of the work. The supervision of the materials and of the workmen was entrusted to a man named Phalaris, described as a farmer of the revenue, an employment which was thought to fit him for this particular function.

The superintendents of costly buildings had a wide field of influence. It was easy for them to make themselves popular with the large body of workmen, many of them foreigners, careless of the honour of the city. In all disputes the overseer was called in to reconcile the hostile parties, and if necessary to punish the wrong-doer. In this way they gradually acquired judicial authority and power; and as enormous sums of money passed through their hands, they had the greatest power over the lowest and most needy of the inhabitants. We know how greatly the power of Pericles, in Athens, was strengthened by the devotion of the large army of artists and artisans over whom he ruled in the great days of Pheidias, during the erection of the Parthenon and other miracles of Attic genius and skill.

Phalaris made the fullest use of his opportunities. He declared in the public assembly that much of the material collected for the building had been stolen, and obtained leave to fortify the Acropolis. He then armed those of his workmen whom he could trust, attacked the loyal citizens, and, after great carnage, made himself master of the city, which he ruled as despot for sixteen years (570 to 554 B.C., Olympiads 52-3 to 56-3). He subjected a large part of Sicily to his power, which is said to have extended to Leontini. In Himera he was appointed to the command of the army; he then asked for a bodyguard, but when

the citizens seemed inclined to grant it, the poet Stesichorus related the well-known fable of the man and the stag, upon which they changed their minds and refused the insidious request. Phalaris, notwithstanding, succeeded in getting possession of several Sicilian towns.

Phalaris became notorious for his cruelty, and many monstrous tales are told of him; among others that he was a cannibal and fed on suckling babes. There is, however, more reason to believe the story of the brazen bull. It is said that he employed an Athenian, Perilaos or Perillus, to construct a bull of bronze, whose belly was large enough to hold the body of a man. Under it he placed fire, and when it became hot the groans of the miserable victim within it resembled the roar of a bull, to which the tyrant listened with diabolical pleasure. With a grim kind of humour he shut up the artist Perillus himself in the bull, "that he might prove the value of his work." This story was generally believed by the ancients, and the animal is said to have been carried off by the Carthaginians after their capture of Akragas (Agrigentum). Timæus alone disbelieves the story, and denies that the brazen figure sent to Carthage was that of Phalaris; others say that it was thrown into the sea when the tyrant fell.

An interesting story is told of the mutual devotion of the two friends, Chariton and Melanippus. Melanippus was denied justice by the tyrant, and he and Chariton conspired to overthrow the unjust judge. Chariton, out of love for his friend, chose to act alone, that his friend might not be imperilled. He was denounced and thrown into prison, and though put to the torture refused to betray his accomplice. Then Melanippus went to Phalaris, and declared that he alone was the originator of the plot, and solely responsible for it. The tyrant, it is said, in whom there must have been some vestige of humane feeling, was so moved by the spectacle of

such devoted friendship that he set them both free on condition of their leaving the island.

Zeus prolonged the rule of the tyrant as a reward for this act of clemency, but a casual remark of his is said to have brought about his fall. He saw a flock of doves pursued by a hawk, and inadvertently observed to his courtiers, "The doves could beat the hawk, if they only had courage." Telemachus took the hint, and roused the Agrigentines to put down the tyrant, which they succeeded in doing, and are said to have burnt him in his own bull.

Some writers see a grain of truth in these, for the most part fictitious, tales, and say that the legend of the bull arose from the fact that Phalaris introduced the worship of Moloch. Now, the Moloch of the Israelites had the head of an ox, and children were placed in his red-hot arms and roasted alive.

Connected with these usages were the Cretan legends of the Minotaur, who demanded human offerings, and of Talus, the brazen man, the work of Hephæstus (Vulcan), whom Zeus gave to Minos of Crete. This monster walked round the island thrice a day, and when he saw strangers approaching he heated himself red hot and embraced them in his fiery arms.

It is said that Phalaris was appointed by the Sicans commander of their forces to defend them against the Phœnicians, who were enemies both of the Greeks and Sicans. If so, Phalaris was a forerunner of Dionysius, whose chief significance in this history is that he collected and inspired the strength of Greek Sicily against the power of Carthage.

Tyranny was established also in Gela fifty years after the reign of Phalaris in Agrigentum. A number of Geloans, who had been expelled from their city by their political opponents, withdrew to Mactorion, which was situated on the higher land above, and harassed Gela from this ground of vantage. Then Telines of Gela, whose ancestors had come from the

isle of Telos, with Rhodian and Cretan settlers, at the foundation of Gela, went in procession, with the symbols and sacrificial instruments of the Triopian earth-gods, and awakened the religious feelings of the malcontents. He won their confidence so completely that the grateful Geloans accompanied him back to their city, and committed to him and his family the hereditary priesthood of the friendly divinities, by whose aid he had put an end to the civil war. Yet in 504 B.C. we find Cleandros, son of Pantases, in possession of the supreme power in Gela.

In Selinus a tyrant named Peithagoras deprived the citizens of their freedom. In the group of Chalcidian towns, the same struggle went on between the nobles and the plebeians, which ended as usual in the establishment of tyranny. In Himera Terillus reigned at the same time as Cleandros in Gela. In Leontini Panaitios rose to supreme power; the date is given as 608 B.C. (Olympiad, 43-1), which, if correct, would make him the oldest of Sicilian tyrants.

At this period a law-giver named Charondas arose, and passed laws regulating the whole of human life for all the Chalcidian cities. He was a citizen of Catana, and for that city he made a law that no man should come to the assembly armed. Now it so happened once that Charondas himself, in his haste, forgot to lay aside his weapon before entering the Agora. A cry was immediately raised that he was breaking his own law. "No," he answered, "I am confirming it," and, drawing his sword, he slew himself.

The Sicilian towns on the coast were at this time greatly harassed by Tyrrhenian pirates, who made the traffic by sea unsafe and hindered it greatly. An alarm of the landing of such robbers at Catana had called Charondas, an hour before the meeting of the Assembly, to go forth out of the city with his sword, which seems to have been inadvertently forgotten on his return.

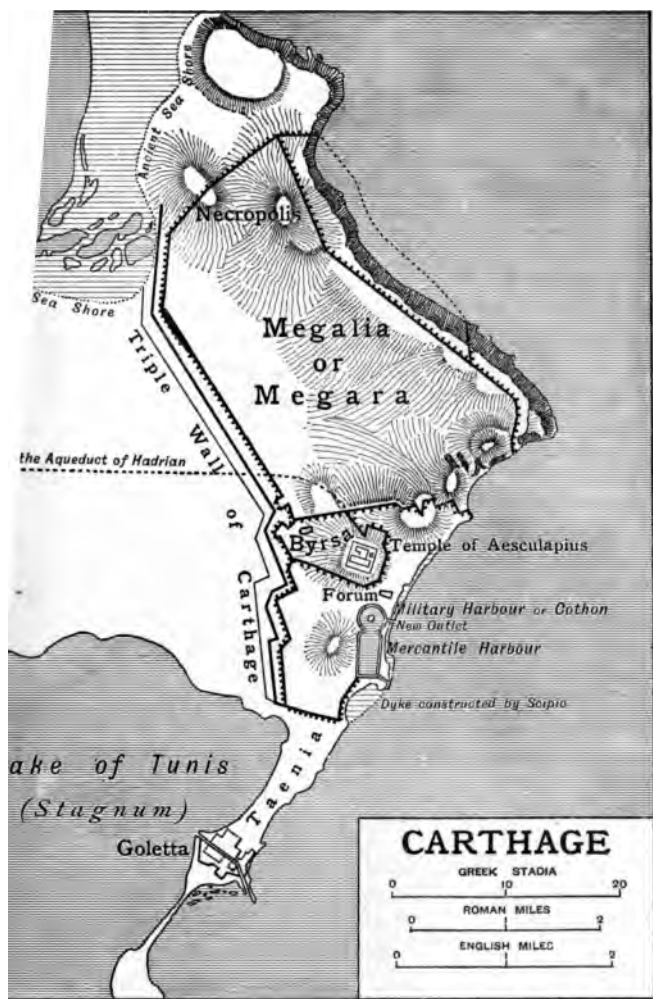
CHAPTER XI

WAR WITH CARTHAGE: GELON

So for two hundred years the Greeks grew powerful and rich in Sicily, and their cities attained a very high degree of civilisation. But now a great crisis occurred, which seemed to threaten the very existence of Sicilian Hellenism.

We have seen that the Phoenicians, whose aim was rather lucrative trade than extensive territorial dominion, retreated before the Greeks who had occupied the eastern part of the island, and concentrated themselves in the western. We have seen, too, how the Greeks gradually advanced westward; the Rhodians and others, from round Cape Pachynos to Gela in 689 B.C.; the Zanklians, from the Straits of Messina along the north coast to the mouth of the river Himera; and the Megarians to Selinus, in 628 B.C. That was the limit of their progress westward, for Akragas (Agrigentum) lay east of Selinus, on the south coast. Thus the Hellenes, at Himera and at Selinus, had come perilously near, respectively, to the great Phœnician cities of Solœis, Panormos (Palermo), and Motye.

Carthage, originally called "Catharda" (New Town), lying in the most fertile region of North Africa, with a good harbour, safe anchorage, and a plentiful supply of fresh spring water, grew rapidly in wealth and power. It had the advantage of



CARTHAGE.

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receiving numerous settlers of the highest class, from both Tyre and Sidon, and its aristocratic constitution gave it both unity and courage. The Supreme Council consisted of thirty old men, of whom two were chosen as kings, under the name of "Suffetes"; but as these were elected for only one year they had little real power. The Second Council consisted of three hundred members, and in this the influential families gradually usurped the sole power, and established an absolute Aristocracy.

Encouraged by all these favourable circumstances, and confident in their wealth and ever-increasing population, and supported, in Sicily, by the Phœnicians and the half-Semitic Elymi and Egesteans, the Carthaginians at last determined to face the Greeks, and, if possible, to drive them out of the island.

In the year 580 B.C. a large number of Cnidians and Rhodians came to Sicily at a time when Selinus and Egesta (Segesta) were at war. They joined the Selinuntines and endeavoured to found a city for themselves on the promontory of Libyæum, at the western extremity of the island. But as this would be a serious rival and danger to the neighbouring Phœnician town of Motye, the latter appealed to Carthage and to the Elymi at Segesta for assistance, and with their aid drove off the invaders. These then settled on the Lipari islands, under their chiefs Pentathlos (or Gorgos), Thestor, and Epithersides.

At the end of the sixth century before Christ the chief Greek cities of Sicily had fallen under the dominion of tyrants. At that period Cleandros ruled in Gela for seven years, and was then killed by Sibyllus, a Geloan; but was succeeded in the tyranny, 498 B.C., by his brother Hippocrates, assisted by Ænesidemus and by Gelon, son of Deinomenes. The rule of Hippocrates of Gela extended to Callipolis, Leontini, Naxos, and Zankle (Messina). Under him Ænesidemus ruled over Leontini, and Skythes over Zankle.

Skythes, a just and honourable man, invited the Ionians of Miletus (when in 494 B.C. their city was captured by the Persians) to come to Sicily and occupy the Cale Acte, a part of the north coast. The Samians responded to his invitation, but stayed some time at the Zephyrian Locris, and there met Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium, who turned them from their purpose. He persuaded them to occupy Zankle by gross treachery, telling them that a rich existing town was better than a new settlement. Skythes was absent, and when he returned the gates of his city were closed against him. He appealed to Hippocrates for help; but Hippocrates sided with the Samians, captured Skythes and his three hundred followers outside the city, and handed them over to the Samians, not liking, he said, to slay them himself. But the Samians set them free, and Skythes escaped to Persia, where he was received with all honour by Darius. According to Herodotus, Darius called him the most honourable of all the Greeks, because he kept his word and returned to Persia.

Anaxilas took possession of Zankle in 491 B.C., and, having introduced many citizens who were, like himself, of Messenian origin from the Peloponnesus, he changed its name to Messene (*hodie*, Messina). The oldest coins of this city are like the Samian, having a lion's head on one side and a bull's on the other. Anaxilas erected a war harbour at Skyllæum, which effectually stopped the Tyrrhenian pirates from passing through the Straits.

Hippocrates, the tyrant of Gela, having taken rich booty from Zankle, now thought of adding Syracuse to his dominions. Syracuse had an extensive territory to the southwest, but had not yet attained a superiority over the other cities, and was at war with Camarina, having for allies the Megarians and the people of Henna, while the Sicels sided with Camarina. The Geloans refused to fight against Syracuse.

In the conflict which took place on the river

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Hyrmessus the forces of Camarina were beaten; the Syracusans then took possession of their city, expelling its inhabitants, and thus became neighbours of Gela. But soon afterwards, in their turn, the Syracusans were defeated on the river Helorus. Chromius now raised a mutiny in the army of Hippocrates, and he was driven by the Geloans to Syracuse. He pitched his camp near the temple of Olympian Zeus, to which the Syracusans, with the priests, came and stripped it of its golden offerings, especially the golden garment of Zeus. Hippocrates allowed them to return into the city, and did not himself plunder the temple, in hopes of making himself popular. At this juncture Corinth and Corcyra interfered in favour of the Syracusan people, and Hippocrates had to content himself with the cession of Camarina, in return for the Syracusan prisoners he had captured.

Then Hippocrates turned his attention to the Sicels, and got possession of their city, Ergetion, by an artifice. By offering high pay he enticed away the mercenaries who formed the garrison of the town, and then, with the cavalry, fell on the defenceless inhabitants and captured their city. Lastly, he attacked Hybla, before which place he met with his death.

Hippocrates left two sons, too young to take the reins of government; and Gelon, as their guardian, assumed the command. He pretended at first that he was only ruling in the name of the minors; but when a rebellion had broken out and he had crushed the insurgents, he threw off the mask and proclaimed himself tyrant of Gela.

He then endeavoured to carry out the designs of Hippocrates against Syracuse, and in this he was greatly assisted by the troubled state of that city. The Demos of Syracuse had risen against the Gamoroi, the original possessors of land, who formed a wealthy and powerful territorial aristocracy, and succeeded in expelling them. They had appealed to Gelon, and he had prepared to reinstate them by force of arms,

when, contrary to all expectation, the Syracusan people received both Gelon and the Gamoroi within their walls, in the year 485 B.C. (Olympiad 73-4). And thus, at last, Syracuse fell under the dominion of a tyrant, and its future history is mainly the history of its tyrants.

Gelon determined that Syracuse should attain the supreme hegemony of Sicily; and, with this view, he thought it necessary largely to increase the population. His method had no want of directness; he ordered half the inhabitants of his native city, Gela, to leave their homes and reside in Syracuse, and he appointed his brother Hieron tyrant of the remaining half. As for Camarina, he utterly destroyed the town, and transplanted the whole population to Syracuse. As Megara and Euboea had resisted him, he ordered the aristocracy of those towns to go and settle in Syracuse. The common people, who expected no harm from Gelon, he brought to Sicily, and gave them as slaves to any one who promised to remove them out of the island. Herodotus says that he did this, fearing that they would give him trouble in Syracuse.

He then covered Achradina with dwelling-houses, and, as some say, enclosed it by a wall on the west side. A third quarter of the city, called Tyche, from the temple of that goddess, arose under his administration; joining Achradina, on the west side, it embraced the north part of the plateau, lying near the harbour of Trogilus. Lastly, he formed a suburb near the temple of Apollo, which was afterwards called Neapolis (New Town). Many wealthy men came over from Greece, and settled permanently in Syracuse, among them Phormis of Arcadia, a poet, a warrior, and a kind of "condottiere." He made rich offerings at Olympia, in honour of his new home in Sicily, which greatly pleased Gelon, who was now generally acknowledged as the first among the tyrants of Sicily.

The next in importance of the new settlers was

Theron, of Akragas (Agrigentum), one of the race of the Emmenides; Pindar derives his descent from Thessander, son of Polynices, who married Argeia, the daughter of Adrastus; Pindar therefore calls him "Adrastides Emmenides"; Theron was son of Telemachus, who overthrew the tyrant Phalaris.

Theron rose to supreme power in Agrigentum by the same arts as Phalaris. He procured his appointment as overseer of the temple of Athene, and employed the numerous workmen as a bodyguard to coerce the inhabitants and to establish his despotic power. But he ruled with justice and moderation, and was a steady friend of Gelon, to whom he gave his daughter Damarete in marriage. Theron allied himself still more closely with the house of Gelon by marrying the daughter of Polyzelus, brother of Gelon.

CHAPTER XII

CARTHAGINIAN INVASION

AKRAGAS (Agrigentum), under Theron, ruled the interior of the island to the north nearly to the borders of Himera, on the Tyrrhenian sea. The near approach of Theron alarmed Terillus, the tyrant of Himera, who took up arms against him. Terillus was father-in-law of Anaxilas of Rhegium, to whom he had given his daughter Cydippe. Theron succeeded in expelling Terillus from Himera; but the latter appealed to Anaxilas, who promised his support. The two tyrants consequently sought the aid of Carthage, and Anaxilas sent his two sons thither as hostages.

The Carthaginians were on the watch, and were well aware of the dissensions between the Greek rulers and peoples. They saw Gelon and Theron masters of the south, Terillus and Anaxilas ruling in the north; the latter ready to betray the Greek cause; the former, the champions of Hellenism, defenders of Sicily and civilisation against African barbarism.

The Carthaginians had already spent three years in the most extensive preparations. They had collected a large fleet—two hundred ships of war and three thousand ships of burden—and a land force of 300,000 men, composed of citizens of Carthage, Italian mercenaries, Gauls, Ligurians, Iberians, Sardinians, and Corsicans. Besides these, Herodotus mentions a

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people called "Elysicoi," the Celtic Volsæ of the Rhone. The whole mighty Armada was placed under the command of Hamilcar, son of Hanno, a noble of the most illustrious Carthaginian family, but whose mother, according to Herodotus, was a Syracusan.

On the voyage to Sicily a storm fell on the Carthaginian fleet, and destroyed most of the transports bearing cavalry and war-chariots. Hamilcar landed at Panormos (Palermo), and repaired his losses. He then led his army to Himera, and ordered the admirals of the fleet to sail along the coast within sight of the land force. He formed two camps, for the fleet and the army respectively, and drew up most of his shipping on to the beach, surrounding them with a deep fosse and a palisade.

Theron called on his friend Gelon for help in this dangerous crisis; and Gelon came, with fifty thousand foot-soldiers and five thousand cavalry, and pitched his camp in the plain by the river Himera. He raided the neighbourhood of the Carthaginian camp, which he was able to do almost unopposed, as the enemy's cavalry had perished in the storm. The Greeks had been discouraged at first by the strange appearance of the African army, but after a few encounters with them they took courage, attacked them with vigour, and brought ten thousand prisoners into Himera. Among the prisoners whom Gelon's cavalry captured was a man on his way to the Carthaginian camp with letters from Selinus, promising a detachment of cavalry for the day on which Hamilcar would be sacrificing to Neptune (Poseidon). Gelon, having read the letters, quickly formed his plan.

He ordered a part of his mounted force to appear before the gates of the marine camp of the Carthaginians, and pretend to be the promised Selinuntine reinforcement. The ruse succeeded; they were admitted, and immediately fired the ships. Gelon, meantime, attacked the other camp, where the Carthaginians resisted bravely till they saw the

flames rising from the burning fleet; then they fled, and Hamilcar was killed. Some say that he was slain by a horseman; others, that he remained all day sacrificing to the gods, and, when all was lost, threw himself into the flames by which the victims were consumed.

Gelon gave no quarter, and a hundred and fifty thousand Carthaginians are said to have been butchered! The rest of their army withdrew, always fighting, to a strong height, probably Monte San Calogero, four or five English miles west of Himera, but were soon obliged to yield from want of water. Twenty ships of war which Hamilcar had drawn up on the strand were quickly over-filled with fugitives and sailed away, but they perished in the first storm at sea.

All Carthage was amazed and alarmed by the news, and feared that Gelon would cross over to Africa; but it paid due honours to Hamilcar, and instituted an annual festival in memory of his death.

Gelon thought it wise to be very moderate in the terms which he offered; probably because the Greek war with Persia was not yet over. He did not even demand a cession of Carthaginian territory in Sicily. He only asked for payment of two thousand talents, and a promise that the Carthaginians would offer no more human sacrifices.

The Carthaginians were highly pleased at being let off so easily after so stupendous a defeat, and showed their joy by presenting Damarete, Gelon's wife, with a golden garland worth a hundred talents. She changed its value into silver, and coined this into "pentekontalithra" (pieces of fifty litra each, equal to ten Attic drachmas) which bore the name of "Damareteia." These coins are the ancient Syracusan "decadrachmas," which bear on the obverse a female head, crowned with laurel, and wearing ear-rings, and a necklace, in a kind of ring surrounded by dolphins, with the legend, "Syracusion"; on the reverse side,

a slowly moving three-horse chariot with a charioteer; above the horses a winged Nike or Victory hovered; and below, a lion was running. The style of the head, whether that of Arethusa or of Cora (Proserpine) shows greater antiquity than that of other Syracusan decadrachmas, which have no laurel crown and no lion.

Gelon captured enormous booty, one part of which he dedicated in the temples of Syracuse, another he gave to his allies, and with the remainder he adorned the city of Syracuse. As many of the Carthaginians had fled to Akragas (Agrigentum) the inhabitants of that city made numerous captives; in some instances five hundred becoming the prize of one master. Some of these were employed in building huge temples, and in making canals or subterranean drains, and digging a large pond, seven stadia in circumference and twenty ells in depth.

The battle of Himera took place before that of Salamis, which was in the year 480 B.C., for Herodotus says that Greece applied to Gelon for help against the Persians. When the Greek envoys appeared before him, he replied: "When I asked you for help against Carthage, ye were deaf to my prayers, and ye would have allowed Sicily to fall under Carthage. Nevertheless, I will send two hundred triremes, twenty thousand hoplites (heavy-armed soldiers), two thousand light horse, two thousand archers, and two thousand slingers, if ye will give me the chief command of the allied forces against Xerxes." The proud Spartan, Syagrus, made answer, that "if Gelon could not submit to the supreme command of Sparta, he had better stay away altogether." Then Gelon said that he would be satisfied with the command of the fleet: to which Athens replied that she would allow a Spartan to command the fleet, but no one else. Gelon answered, tauntingly: "Ye have commanders enough, but no soldiers. Go, and tell the Hellenes that they have no spring in their year."

The Greeks liked to think that the battle of Himera was fought on the same day as that of Salamis, but we see from the foregoing dramatic colloquy that this was not the case. The battle of Himera took place in the year 481 B.C. Gelon evidently thought that, without his aid, the Greeks of the old country might be defeated by the Persians. Therefore, as a man who looked chiefly to his own personal safety, he sent Cadmus, the Coan, to Delphi, with vast treasures to be given to Xerxes in the name of Sicily. When victory declared for Greece he sent to Delphi a golden Nike and a golden tripod. Upon this, the poet Simonides wrote an epigram in which Gelon and his brothers, set by the side of the victors at Salamis and at Plataea, are designated the saviours of Greece from the barbarians! The value of the tripod is mentioned in this epigram as fifty talents, but Diodorus estimates it at sixteen.

Gelon reflected that, by introducing ten thousand mercenaries into Syracuse and giving them the rank of citizens, he had robbed the older inhabitants of their prospect of honourable and lucrative appointments. He therefore determined to try the temper of the Syracusans by a desperate step, by which he must either lose all, or establish his power on a firmer basis. He called an assembly of the whole people and bade them come to it fully armed. He then appeared before them, without any weapon and even without a cloak, and gave an account of his actions as sovereign ruler. It would have been easy for his numerous enemies to slay him then and there. But they were daunted by his boldness, and an enthusiastic cry arose, hailing him as Benefactor, Saviour, King!

A statue of the unarmed Gelon was set up in the Temple of Hera (Juno). Even the other tyrants, who had been bitterly hostile to him, seeing how strong a hold he had on Syracuse, sent envoys, offering their homage and obedience; and thus his

daring act made him the virtual master of all Sicily.

He offered a golden mantle to Zeus and built magnificent temples to Demeter (Ceres) and Cora (Proserpine), in whose service his family enjoyed the hereditary priesthood. He was engaged in erecting a new sanctuary to Demeter on Mount Ætna, when death suddenly carried him off, by dropsy, in 478 B.C. (Olympiad, 75-3), after a brilliant reign of seven years. In obedience to the law of Syracuse he had deprecated a costly funeral and had expressed a wish to be buried at the country seat of his wife. His wish was respected; but the whole population followed him, twelve stadia from Syracuse to the south, and adorned the place with magnificent monuments and nine great massive towers, and they paid him divine honours as a hero. His fame extended to Rome, and in the famine from which that city suffered in 492 B.C., the Romans sent P. Valerius and L. Gegarius to Sicily to buy corn; Gelon paid them the highest honours, and gave them 25,000 bushels at a merely nominal price.

Nothing was more natural than that a number of romantic legends should gather round a man of such extraordinary gifts and such brilliant achievements. When he was a boy at school, a wolf suddenly entered the school-house, seized the slate on which Gelon was writing, and ran away with it. He pursued the wolf to recover his slate; and lo! no sooner had he left the house, than it fell to the ground, and crushed the tutor and a hundred of the children.

The first attack of the Carthaginians was thus gloriously repelled; and it was seventy years before they had sufficiently recovered from their disastrous defeat at Himera to undertake a fresh invasion of Grecian Sicily.

CHAPTER. XIII

REIGN OF HIERO, 478 TO 466 B.C.

SICILY, at this period, was rich and full of confidence in the mighty strength so gloriously displayed in the battle of Himera. Nothing stood in the way of her complete development; for her victory had brought her freedom from all external troubles. From internal agitation and unrest, no Greek city was ever entirely free; but these did not affect the heart of the nation. It had leisure to attend to science and art, and to the improvement of public and private life.

Gelon had wished that his son, though of unripe age, should succeed him in the sovereignty of Syracuse; but meantime, during the minority of the young prince, he directed that the power which he had wielded alone should be divided between his own brother, Hiero, and a younger brother, Polyzelus. To Hiero he left the command of the army, and the guardianship of the young prince; to Polyzelus, the conduct of state affairs.

For a short time the directions of Gelon were obeyed; but the increasing popularity of Polyzelus, who was greatly beloved by the people, caused Hiero great anxiety and alarm. His one thought was how most speedily and safely to rid himself of so dangerous a rival. He sent him on dangerous military expeditions, without sufficient force; first, to help Sybaris

against Croton, and then to put down a rising of the Sicels. Polyzelus, however, soon became aware of his brother's designs, and, avoiding Syracuse, fled to Akragas (Agrigentum), to his father-in-law, the tyrant Theron, who received him kindly, and so incurred the bitter enmity of Hiero. These two mightiest of Sicilian potentates began to prepare for war with one another.

But many circumstances led both Theron and Hiero to pause before carrying matters to extremes. Theron had set his son, Thrasidæus, over the city of Himera, which groaned under his oppression. The people of Himera, therefore, made secret overtures to Hiero, promising him the possession of their city and aid against Theron, who was harassed also by his cousins, Hippocrates and Capys. Nor was Hiero anxious for war; and when the two armies lay opposite to each other on the river Gela, the poet Simonides persuaded them to come to terms. It was arranged that Polyzelus should return to Syracuse, with all external marks of honour, but should give up all efforts to play a political part. Hiero gave up the miserable Himereans to their savage tyrant Thrasidæus, who promptly slew all those who had plotted against him, and Theron introduced new citizens in their place, not all of whom were Dorians. Theron's cousins and enemies, Hippocrates and Capys, were beaten on the river Himera, and fled to Camicus.

Thus Theron was saved from his perilous position; but Hiero, who had given more than he received, claimed, with good reason, the hegemony of Sicily, and the same honours that had been paid to Gelon. He then, in the year 476 B.C. (Olympiad 76-1) turned his attention to Naxos and Catana; and, after driving the citizens from their homes, transplanted them to Leontini, while he occupied Catana with ten thousand new settlers from Syracuse and the Peloponnesus. From this time forward, Catana bore the name of Ætna. The newly-enrolled citizens received the lands of the

expelled Catanians, and those of the neighbouring Sicels. Hiero, by a solemn proclamation, ordered the Ætneans to live in accordance with Dorian customs. The administration of the town was entrusted by Hiero to his own son.¹

The influence of Hiero extended to Italy; for when Anaxilas of Rhegium threatened the Epizephyrian Locrians in 477 B.C., Hiero sent his son Chromius to Anaxilas, and forced him to withdraw. Anaxilas died two years after this, and left sons under the guardianship of the freedman Micythus, a just and temperate man, much respected by those over whom he ruled; he held the reins of government in Messene, as well as in Rhegium.

From jealousy of Micythus, Hiero incited the sons of Anaxilas to depose their faithful guardian, and to take the rule out of his hands. They followed his advice; but, to their surprise, Micythus yielded up his power at once, and retired to Tegæa, in the Peloponnesus, where he ended his days in prosperity and honour.

Perhaps the greatest service which Hiero rendered to the Greeks of Sicily was in his successful operations against the Tyrrhenians. Those bold pirates had already been driven out of the Straits of Messina by Anaxilas, but were still powerful and aggressive in the Tyrrhene Sea, and threatened the town of Cumæ, on the Bay of Naples, in 474 B.C. The Cumæans, with great difficulty, repelled their first attack; but, feeling the want of a powerful ally, appealed to Hiero, who sent a fleet of triremes; and with this assistance the Cumæans destroyed the pirates' ships, and saved the

¹ Pindar glorifies Hiero as the founder of Ætna, and says that "God is his guardian and shares in his cares" (*Olymp.* I. v. 106).

Θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν ταῖσι μῆδεται
ἔχων τοῦτο κᾶδος, ἱέρων,
Μερίμναισιν.

Again, in *Pyth.* II. 221, 223, 223, and *Olymp.* I. 224. He is also mentioned by Æschylus.

city. Hiero sent offerings from the Tyrrhenian booty to Olympia; and in the sand of the river Alpheius has been found a bronze helmet, with this inscription: "Hiero, son of Deinomenes, and the Syracusans to Zeus. Booty from Cumæ." This interesting relic is now in the British Museum.

Hiero thus sought to strengthen his high position in the Grecian world; but he had other and higher aims than Gelon. Gelon was satisfied if he could teach his subjects agriculture and commerce, make them prosperous, and attach them to his person. Hiero followed the example of Polycrates in Samos, and of the Pisistratidæ, in their cultivation of literature and art, and in generous patronage of men of genius. He formed a court of all who were able to add grace and dignity to his life, and, as he hoped, willing to immortalise his name in lofty song. These great men were not blind to his defects, though they evidently thought these were outweighed by his merits. His great fault was an abiding fear of conspiracy, which led him to encourage an army of spies and informers, both men and women; the former went under the names of Ὤτακουσται (listeners) and the latter, Ποταγωγίδες or Tale-bearers; no doubt they brought many innocent persons to ruin and death. Hiero's natural irritability was increased by the disease (the stone) from which he suffered greatly. Yet his good qualities secured for him the affection of many great men; and few sovereigns, either Greek or Roman, had a more brilliant court.

CHAPTER XIV

FALL OF THE TYRANTS

ON the death of Hiero the son of Gelon ought to have succeeded, but he was still too young to take the reins of government. His oldest uncle, Polyzelus, being dead, the direction of affairs fell to Thrasybulus, the youngest son of Deinomenes, as chief counsellor of his young nephew. But Thrasybulus was not satisfied with delegated temporary rule, and determined to establish himself in permanent sovereignty. With this end in view he led the youth into debauchery of every kind, and brought him to an early death.

But there were many adherents to the family who saw the incapacity of Thrasybulus to rule in such troublous times, and offered him a powerful opposition. Thrasybulus was greatly inferior in intellect to his brothers. Gelon had gained splendid victories over powerful foes, and made himself beloved by his subjects. Hiero, though covetous and cruel, was of a strong character, and was feared. He was also a man of literary tastes, and attracted the most illustrious men of Greece to his court. The younger members of this great family had been reared in idleness and luxury, and lacked the great qualities of their predecessors while inheriting their faults and vices. They had no glorious victories and no splendid court to dazzle the eyes of the people, who soon began to feel

their own power, and to see the opportunity to organise themselves for rising in revolt. Thrasybulus at first tried to assuage their discontent by soft words, but when this had no effect he accepted the challenge, and prepared to fight.

In some respects his position was a strong one. He had possessed himself of Ortygia and Achradina, both of which were fortified; here he collected his mercenaries and some troops from Ætna and Catana, with the friends, dependents, and servants of his family—together about fifteen thousand men. His enemies occupied Tyche and the suburb of Neapolis, but they quickly realised that they could do very little against the trained bands of Thrasybulus, and that they must seek external aid.

Fortunately for them the tyranny in Akragas (Agrigentum) had already fallen, and Thrasybulus could look for no help in that quarter. And now that Syracuse had lost its supremacy nearly all the other cities of Sicily—Gela, Agrigentum, Selinus, and Himera—took the side of the Syracusan insurgents; and even the still existing tyrants of Messene and Rhegium remained neutral. The Sicels, too, joined the adversaries of Thrasybulus, having less to fear from a democracy. Especially useful to them was the great fleet sent by the friendly cities, which effectually prevented the introduction of supplies into Ortygia and Achradina. Thrasybulus with his own ships attacked this fleet, but obtained no success. Then he made sallies from Achradina, but was beaten back with great loss.

At the end of his resources, and hopeless of aid, he began to treat with the popular leaders, only asking for a free exit from Syracuse. This was granted, to avoid further bloodshed. He sailed to Locri, and lived there as a private citizen; with him ended the dynasty of the Deinomenides, and Syracuse regained her freedom, and kept it until the rise of Dionysius.

Syracuse now helped other cities to cast off the

yoke of their tyrants, and by her assistance the sons of Anaxilas, in Messene and Rhegium, were overthrown. The new constitutions were all more or less democratic.

There was great joy in Syracuse at the complete success of the revolt. They set up a colossal image of "Zeus the Liberator," and decreed that on every anniversary of the joyous event a festival, the "Eleutheria," or Feast of Liberty, should be held, with public games, and a hecatomb of 150 oxen offered to conciliate the gods and provide a feast for the people. For this sacrifice the huge altar discovered in 1839 is supposed to have been erected near the theatre, though Diodorus ascribes it to Hiero II.

The hatred entertained by the Syracusans for everything connected with the fallen tyrant led them to make political dispositions, which sorely wounded the feelings of one portion of the inhabitants. The full civic rights which made men eligible for the posts of honour and emolument were reserved for the old citizens, by which arrangement the ten thousand mercenaries who had been made citizens by Gelon were excluded. Three thousand of these had withdrawn with Thrasybulus, but the seven thousand who were left in Syracuse rose in arms, and occupied Ortygia and Achradina. The old citizens held strongly fortified positions on the west side of the plateau, now first called Epipolæ by Diodorus, by which they were enabled to cut off the insurgents from the interior of the island. At first the disciplined mercenaries had the advantage, but reinforcements for the citizens arrived, both by sea and land, and they soon recovered possession of their city.

Their work, however, was not yet fully accomplished. The Sicels, who had taken part in the suppression of the tyranny, were emboldened by their success to demand atonement for a wrong done to them by Hiero. When the latter had introduced new settlers into his new colony of Ætna he had given

them some lands which belonged to the Sicels. And these were no longer an ill-organised and ill-led mass; they were under the wise control of a capable and enterprising king named Ducetius. He saw that the violent hatred of the emancipated citizens against the strangers forced upon them might be turned against Ætna and that now the victorious Syracusan people would help the Sicels to recover the lands of which they had been robbed.

The Sicels accordingly besieged Ætna, and, as the defenders were shut up in their fortress, proceeded to a new distribution of the disputed lands outside the town. Hiero's colonists, who resisted bravely, were at last expelled from the city, but were allowed to settle in the Sicel town of Inessa. To complete the confusion, the old inhabitants of Catana, who had been sent by Hiero to Leontini, now came back to their old home. And not only these, but Geloans, Agrigentines, and Himeræans claimed the property they had once owned in the town.

A congress of deputies of the various claimants was then held, which decreed that all strangers should leave the respective cities they were residing in, and that only native citizens should have civic rights. Those thus dispossessed by this complete reversal of the policy of the Deinomenides, and who wished to remain in Sicily had settlements given to them in the territory of Messene. Other Siceliots were sent by the Geloans to rebuild Camarina, which had suffered a chequered fate. The Syracusans had first founded it and then destroyed it; it was restored by Hippocrates, and then robbed of its inhabitants by Gelon. This town thus newly founded by the Geloans gained a great celebrity throughout Greece by the victory of Psaumis at Olympia with four "patient-footed" mules. Pindar, in the Fourth Olympiad (452 B.C.), begins by invoking the favour of Zeus, "the Supreme Wielder of the Untiring Thunderbolt," who "has Ætna in his keeping—Ætna, that wind-swept mountain, laid

upon fierce Typhœus' hundred heads." Then he speaks of the victory of Psaumis, who, "with his head crowned with the olive of Pisa, is anxious to raise up glory for Camarina." In the Fifth Ode, also in honour of Psaumis, which was sung before the Three Great Altars, he invokes the nymph Camarina in the first strophe; and in the second Pallas, whose head appears on the coins of Camarina of this period; and in the third strophe great Zeus himself.

The traces of tyranny were, in a great measure, effaced from the soil of Sicily. One result remained,—the supremacy of the Dorian element. Dorians prevailed in Syracuse, Akragas (Agrigentum), Gela, Selinus, Camarina, and Ætna; Ionians, in Catana, Leontini, Naxos, and elsewhere.

Of the next period, from the fall of the tyrants to the war with Athens, we have but little information. We know only that it was a period of freedom and peaceful progress, in which each city attended to its own affairs; in which agriculture and commerce flourished greatly, and also art and science. The little we do know concerns only Syracuse and Akragas (Agrigentum); of the other cities we learn little or nothing.

In Syracuse a citizen named Corax obtained great influence by his eloquence. In that period, in which there was so much litigation about the claims of the partisans of the fallen tyrants, forensic eloquence was greatly cultivated, and by none so much as by Corax. He wrote a treatise, called Τέχνη, on the principles of eloquence, and was considered as the founder of the art of rhetoric.

The complete *bouleversement* of civic affairs led to perpetual friction between the citizens, which for a time the eloquence of Corax helped to mitigate. But the seething dissatisfaction of the lowest class, and the love of extreme democrats for tyranny, offered a promising field for bold adventures. One Tyndarus made himself a favourite with the Syracusan mob,

which followed him about like a bodyguard. He was charged with aiming at tyranny, was tried, and condemned. His followers sought to liberate him, but he was killed in the *mêlée* with the police. Many other attempts to re-establish a tyranny induced the Syracusans, in 454 B.C., to enact a law similar to the "ostracism" of Athens, which in Syracuse was called "petalism," because, in voting, they used olive-leaves instead of pot-sherds. But neither in Athens nor in Syracuse had the new system the desired effect, but rather the contrary. The best men, from fear of falling under the ban, withdrew altogether from the political arena, and left the field open to bold and base intriguers, while the noble and the rich, having no better employment, spent themselves in luxurious indulgences.

The Etruscans, whose sea-power Hiero had broken, had now recruited their strength and resumed their formidable piracy. The Syracusans sent a fleet to Etruria under Phayllus, who seems to have done nothing more than ravage the little isle of *Æthalia* (Elba). The Syracusans, disappointed of their hopes, accused Phayllus of being bribed, and sent him into exile. Then Apelles went, with sixty ships; and after devastating the Etrurian coast and the island of Corsica, and subduing *Æthalia*, returned to Syracuse with much booty and many prisoners in 453 B.C.

In Akragas (Agrigentum) the democratic government was completely established. Yet the chiefs of the State did not act harshly against the family of the fallen tyrants, and even allowed Thrasybalus, the nephew of Theron, and son of Xenocrates, to live unmolested in their city. This lenity and lack of suspicion was probably owing to the peculiar form of the Agrigentine government, which did not exclude the noble and the rich from power, nor entrust the conduct of State affairs entirely to the lowest class of citizens. A collegium of one thousand citizens, mostly of the higher classes, was elected for three

years, and to them was committed the control of State affairs.

Of these rulers the most eminent and influential was Empedocles, the philosopher, son of Meton, a noble Agrigentine. He, like his father, had taken an active part in suppressing the tyrant. He was a man of the noblest character, honourable, courageous, and upright; a true, unselfish lover of freedom, ever ready to help the suffering poor and to curb the pride of the overbearing rich. He watched the intrigues of the friends of despotism, and on one occasion, at a banquet, he detected a conspiracy, charged two of the company with the crime, and brought them to the scaffold. Then he persuaded the citizens to abolish the Collegium of the Thousand, and to give equal rights to all citizens. Empedocles stood so high in the favour of his own countrymen that, in spite of their detestation of tyranny, they offered him the supreme power, which he of course declined.

CHAPTER XV

THE SICEL WAR. DUCETIUS

AT this period, about 454 B.C. (Olympiad 81-3), war was carried on between Segesta and Lilybæum for the possession of land on the river Mazaras. We see that, not very long after their notable defeat by Gelon at Himera, the Semites were again active. The Sicanians and Sicels had withdrawn from the coasts, through fear of the Greeks, into the interior of the island, and there lived their peculiar and independent life among the hills and valleys. They were well aware of the superiority of the intruders, and had remained quiet, even during the reign of the tyrants. But as mercenaries and allies of the Greeks they had learned something of war, and even of strategy. And now, for the first time, a great leader appeared in the person of Ducetius, their king, whom even the Greeks respected and feared.

Ducetius was of noble birth, and ruled over a faithful and loyal people. He conceived the idea of acquiring the dominion of all Sicily, and of subduing or expelling the Greek and Phœnician intruders. The first requisite was to form a united Sicel State, which the Greeks had hitherto been able to prevent. The task was difficult in the extreme, but Ducetius was equal to it. He showed what he could do by founding the town of Menai and capturing Morgantium in

459 B.C. A few years later, 453 B.C. (Olympiad 81-4), he united all the Sikel cities, except Ætnean Hybla, in a formidable league, of which he was the head; and he founded the town of Palice as his capital, on the sacred soil of the Palici, to which he removed the inhabitants of his native city, Neai. When all was ready, 452 B.C. (Olympiad 82-1), he began operations by attacking the Greek settlers in Ætna, which had recently been founded on the site of the old Sikel town of Inessa.

The Syracusans sent an army under Bolcon, which united with an Agrigentine force and attacked Ducetius. But he defeated the allied armies with great loss, and in the following spring of 451 B.C. took the castle of Motyon. The Syracusans were so infuriated at being defeated by what they had always looked upon as a subject race that they executed the unfortunate Bolcon, and sent a much larger force against Ducetius. The hostile armies met at Nomai, and after a fierce struggle the Greeks prevailed, and the Sicels fled to their fastnesses. The Agrigentines meanwhile marched out and recaptured Motyon.

Ducetius' position was now desperate, for not all his subjects were faithful to him. Seeing that all was lost, he made a last effort, so bold and hazardous that only success could justify it. Being near Syracuse he rode, in the dusk of the evening, into the hostile city, and seated himself as a suppliant on the steps of an altar in the market-place.

When the citizens found him there next morning he cried, in a lamentable voice, that he gave up himself and his city to the Syracusans, to deal with as they pleased. An assembly was held to decide upon his fate. The popular orators and their mob declared that he must be put to death. But the older men of weight declared that they ought not to consider his crimes alone, but rather what was becoming for Syracuse to do, and what was due to the Blessed

Gods, to whom the suppliant had entrusted himself. In the end a unanimous vote was given to spare his life.

They sent him to Corinth, from which city Ducetius promised not to move without permission of the Syracusans; but after a short time he was back again in Sicily, thus incurring the charge of perjury and ingratitude. But the circumstances of his return were so peculiar that many surmised that it was not without the tacit consent of Syracuse that he once more returned to his beloved country. He declared, probably in all sincerity, that he had received an oracle from the gods, commanding him to found the colony of Calacte, on the so-called *καλη ἀκτὴ*, "the Fair Shore," on the north coast. Now he could not get an oracle or lead out *armed* colonists against the will of Corinth. It is more than probable that the Corinthians knew that the Syracusans favoured his enterprise, and were glad to have an active and able man to oppose the Agrigentines, who were jealous of Syracuse and angry at the release of Ducetius.

On his arrival in Sicily he received the support of Archonides, the ruler of Herbita, a prosperous and powerful city. The Agrigentines, furious at the honourable return of Ducetius, an alien, at the head of Greek colonists, prepared for war. The other cities took sides, either for or against him, and a great battle was fought on the southern Himera river, in which the Agrigentines were beaten with a loss of ten thousand men. Peace was made in the year 446 B.C. (Olympiad 83-3).

Ducetius reigned in Calacte for several years, and was meditating a new league of Sicels when death overtook him in 439 B.C. (Olympiad 85-2), after a chequered career of twenty-three years. His three towns, Menai (Meneo), Palice, and Calacte, continued to flourish after his death, but Palice was destroyed by the time of Diodorus Siculus.

Now that Ducetius was no more, the Syracusans

took possession of the other Sicel towns. Thrinacia alone resisted, and when all its fighting men had fallen the rest of the population sought a voluntary death. The Syracusans then took possession of the desolate city.

Syracuse had now recovered her old strength and power, and even Akragas (Agrigentum, Girgenti) was obliged to acknowledge her supremacy. The Syracusans built a hundred new triremes, doubled the number of their cavalry, largely increased their force of infantry, and raised the tribute of all their subject towns.

Peace prevailed for a time, and the influence of Hellenism grew apace, even in non-Hellenic towns. This is proved by the fact that the sophist Hippias earned much money in the Sicanian town of Imycon. It is proved also by the coins. Of the Sicel towns, only Henna, Abacaimon, Morgantium, Galaria, and perhaps Ætna and Sergentium, coined money in the fifth century, and most of these have Greek inscriptions. The coins of Henna had on the obverse a torch-bearing woman, and on the reverse a goddess (Ceres, Demeter?) in a chariot. The coins of Abacaimon had a bearded head crowned with laurel, and on the reverse a boar (for Demeter, Ceres). On those of Morgantium was a bearded head bound by a fillet, and on the reverse an ear of corn, Demeter (Ceres). Galaria had a seated Zeus, and on the reverse a Dionysos (Bacchus) standing. Ætna had a head of Silenus, reminding us of the rich vines on the mountain. Sergentium had the bearded head of (Dionysos) Bacchus, and on the reverse a bunch of grapes. Segesta (Egesta), a town of the Elymi, is important for the character of its coins. In the inscription, "Segesta Bizemi," we see strange words in Greek letters. The types are a woman's head, Aphrodite, (Venus, or the nymph Segesta?), and a dog, the symbol of the river Crimisis, with an inscription in Greek characters. Entella has a bull with

human head, and on the reverse a woman sacrificing. Eryx had a seated Aphrodite (Venus), and on the reverse a dog. Motye had also experienced Greek influences; its coins showed a female head and a dog, like that of Segesta.

CHAPTER XVI

GREEK CIVILISATION

WE have now reached the end of the peaceful and prosperous development of the Greek cities. Henceforward Sicily is devastated by foreign wars, oppressed by tyrants, torn by civil dissensions, from which no Greek community was ever free for any length of time. The history of Sicily is now merged in the history of the world.

In the first *decennia* of the fifth century B.C. Sicily offers to our view one of the most striking and beautiful episodes in the great drama of human life. The Greeks were then the intellectual and spiritual masters of the whole island, though not actual possessors of it. Under Greek influence it reached a degree of civilisation comparable with that of the mother-country, Greece. In Selinus and Akragas (Agrigentum) we stand before monuments of rare artistic importance; and in Syracuse and other cities we see a literature and a philosophy independent of those of ancient Greece.

Twenty years later all was changed by the spread of Carthaginian power, and by the still more evil results of the Athenian invasion. The Syracusans were indeed the victors in that tremendous struggle, but were so weakened and depressed by it that the Carthaginians were able to press upon them with

renewed vigour and success, and the Syracusans were fain to throw themselves once more into the arms of tyrants.

The cause of the wars between Athens and Sicily must be looked for in the antagonism between the Ionian and Dorian races, which was accentuated by the Peloponnesian War. The two parties in old Greece strove to get possession of the vast resources of Sicily, Athens being at the head of the Ionians with her subject states, and Sparta the most powerful of the Dorian league.

In the first year of the war the Athenians formed the design of collecting five hundred ships, to which Italian and Sicilian Greek colonies were to contribute; but this plan was not carried out. Selinus and Akragas (Agrigentum) refused to co-operate, and Syracuse was employed in subduing smaller states, some of them Ionian, which led to strife with Athens.

At this momentous crisis in its history Syracuse was about the same size as when Gelon and Hiero ruled it. Ortygia and Achradina formed the proper city, strengthened by Tyche, which leaned on a suburb, having for its centre the sanctuary of the Temenitic Apollo. Beyond the river Anapos was the temple of Olympian Zeus, surrounded by the private residences of the citizens.

Syracuse was still mighty, and Megara remained what Gelon had made it, an outlying fort of the Syracusans; but Syracuse no longer ruled over the Sicels to the same extent as after the defeat of Ducetius. She still had a fleet in good harbours, though not so large as in the time of the tyrants. The constitution was democratic, and the popular assembly decided on all important matters. The executive was in the hands of forty-five generals, chosen for a year. There was, however, a strong aristocratic party, always ready to assist Sparta or Corinth, while the democrats preferred to assert their rule over neighbouring states.

The first attack of the Syracusans was directed against Leontini. The other Dorian towns, with one exception, sided against Syracuse. The Chalcidian towns and Camarina joined with Leontini. Rhegium in Italy also joined its kindred of Leontini, but the Locrians remained in alliance with Syracuse, as in the reign of Hiero.

In the summer of the fifth year of the Peloponnesian War, 427 B.C. (Olympiad 82-2), Leontini was closely beleaguered and brought near to surrender. The Leontines, in their despair, sent an embassy, with Gorgias at its head, to Athens, praying for immediate succour. The Athenians had heard with great alarm that the fleets of the Dorian Sicilians ruled the sea, and they feared that these would join the Peloponnesians. They listened, therefore, to Gorgias and his colleagues, and sent twenty ships under Laches and Charoiades to reconnoitre, with a view to sending a larger expedition. They made Rhegium in Italy their headquarters; but in the summer of 427 B.C. they made an attack on the Lipari islands, in no way thereby serving the Leontines, and Charoiades was killed in a skirmish in the same year. Laches, now sole commander, seems to have troubled himself very little about Leontini, and was chiefly concerned in taking the Messenian fort of Mylai. The garrison of this place laid an ambush, which failed, and as many of the defenders were Chalcidians they joined the Athenians. Had the latter pursued their advantage they might have effected much; as it was, they only gained possession of the little castle of Peripotion in Locri.

In the winter of 426 B.C. the Athenians, at the suggestion of the Sicels who deserted from Syracuse, attacked the Syracusan castle of Inessa, but failed to take it. Laches was not present in this expedition; he was engaged in petty expeditions in the north, and was evidently without any fixed purpose; and after laboriously doing nothing he returned to Rhegium.

There he found another general, Pythodorus, who came to supersede him, and to order him to return to Athens to be arraigned for incompetence by Cleon.

The Leontines renewed their entreaties for Athenian aid, and reported that the Syracusans were preparing a large new fleet. The Athenians, now thoroughly roused, determined to send forty ships in the following spring, and sent Pythodorus in advance. The news of this caused great excitement among the Syracusans, who resolved to strike a great blow.

The only important achievement of the Athenians was the capture of Messene, the population of which city was divided into two parties. The Syracusans negotiated with the Dorian and Locrian citizens, who promised to raid the territory of Rhegium and then to go to the assistance of Syracuse. They succeeded, and Messene then went over to the side of Syracuse; the now allied cities equipped new ships, hoping to capture the vessels of the Athenians before the large force could arrive from Athens. Thirty Dorian ships of war came into conflict with twenty-four of the Athenians, but the latter were victorious; the Dorian ships, however, suffered little loss, and when night put an end to the battle withdrew to the promontory of Pelorus. The Athenians and Rhegians followed them but failed to make any captures. One Athenian ship was taken, but the crew swam to shore.

News now came that a party in Camarina, under the leadership of Archias, were preparing to surrender their town to the Syracusans. The Athenians immediately sent ships thither to support the opposite party. Then the Messenians, anxious to distinguish themselves by some brilliant exploit, made an attack on Naxos; but a large force of Sicels came down from the mountains to the aid of the beleaguered town. The Naxians, seeing them while yet far off, made a sally from their town, and thus the Messenians were placed between two fires; they were badly beaten, with the loss of a thousand men, and the remainder

fled; these were attacked by fresh Sicels from the hills and were cut to pieces; the fleet alone was saved.

Meanwhile, the Athenians had returned from Camarina, and they had planned an attack on Messene; but their allies on shore, having been beaten, were only saved by the landing of an Athenian force, which was insufficient for the capture of the town, and they retired again to Rhegium.

The sailing of the new Athenian fleet from Greece had been delayed by the surprising and important capture of the island of Sphacteria, with a number of Spartan prisoners of high rank, which was achieved by the notorious demagogue, Cleon. Some time was also lost in aiding the democrats of Coreyra against the aristocrats. For these reasons the fleet did not reach Sicily until late in the summer of 425 B.C. The winter of that year and part of the summer of the next year passed without events of importance, owing to the usual slackness of the Athenian generals and the cold indifference of their Sicilian allies. These had got nearly all they wanted and by no means wished to increase the power of Athens in the island. Both Dorian and Chalcidian towns now desired peace, and Camarina was distressed at having fought on the side of the Ionians against her Dorian kindred.

Gela was the first to open negotiations for a truce with Camarina; and other Greek cities were induced to send envoys to a Peace Congress to be held at Gela. Hermocrates, the son of Hermon, represented Syracuse at this assembly, and dwelt, in a great oration, upon the danger of helping Athens to establish her power in Sicily. The other envoys assented to his view; and it was agreed that each town should keep what it possessed, but that Camarina should receive Morgantium upon condition of paying a certain sum of money to Syracuse. Only Locri refused to enter into the compact. So the Athenians had to return to Athens, *re infecta*, in 424 B.C.

But the People of Athens, who had, in their ignorance of Sicily, expected to be able to conquer the whole island, were furious at this result of their efforts. They drove Pythodorus and Sophocles, two of their generals, into exile, and another general, Eurymedon, was fined.

And thus Athens failed in her first enterprise, which only incited the Siceliots against herself. But the inevitable strife between the Sicilian towns soon broke out again; and after no long time, Leontini again fell under the power of Syracuse. Leontini had received a large number of new citizens, introduced by the democratic party to weaken the power of the aristocracy by a new distribution of land. The despoiled aristocrats appealed to the Syracusans for help, and admitted a number of them into Leontini, by whose aid they expelled their democratic opponents, devastated the lands of Leontini, removed their families and property to Syracuse, who then became citizens of that town; but they were soon made aware that they were not very welcome. So they left Syracuse and occupied the castle of Brinkinnisæ, near Leontini (*hodie*, Colle di San Basilio), which was really a part of Leontini itself; and from this point they harassed Syracuse.

The Leontines had applied to Athens for help, but Athens was then hard pressed by Brasidas, so that she could only send Phaiax to reconnoitre, and to try to form a league of Siceliot towns against Syracuse. He succeeded in winning Locri, Camarina, and Akragas, but he was so badly received in Gela that he feared to remain in Sicily, and hastened to Catana, where his ships were lying. When he returned to Athens his report turned the attention of the Athenians from Sicily; and in 424 B.C. the peace of Nicias was concluded.

But a change occurred in the winter of 416 B.C. (Olympiad 91-1) when Segesta sought help from the Athenians against the Selinuntines, with whom the

Segestans were at war. The river Halicycius, in Mazara, separated their respective territories; and the Selinuntines were the first to cross the stream and to ravage the coastland of the Segestans. The latter, gathering a large force, drove the invaders back to their own side of the river. A great battle was then fought, in which the Segestans were defeated. They had applied in vain for help to Akragas (Agrigentum), Syracuse, and even Carthage; and now their only hope lay in Athens. They pointed out to the Athenians that a mighty league of Dorian Sicilians was in process of formation, which could not but be highly dangerous to Athens.

When the Segestan envoys had addressed the Athenian assembly several times, promising large sums of money as subsidies, the latter consented to send envoys to Sicily, to inquire into the state of the war between Segesta and Selinus, and to see whether the promised subsidy was really there. In the spring of 415 B.C. the Athenian envoys returned home, bringing the falsest news. The Segestans had shown them the money in the public treasury, and the consecrated gold and silver vessels, and the rich offerings, in the temple of Aphrodite (Venus) on Mount Eryx. They had entertained the crews of the Athenian vessels with costly banquets, at which they made a great show of gold and silver utensils—which they had in fact borrowed from neighbouring towns, being themselves by no means rich.

And now fresh envoys from Segesta arrived in Athens, asking for sixty ships and bringing sixty talents in coined silver as a month's pay for the crews. An assembly was summoned; which of course included the Athenian sailors who had seen the wealth of Segesta, and who now lauded it with natural exaggeration. So the excited assembly hastily decreed to send the sixty ships, and appointed as commanders, with full powers, three persons; namely, Alcibiades, son of Clinias, and head of the revolutionary party; Nicias,

son of Niceratus, and chief of the aristocracy; and Lamachus, son of Xenophon, an experienced warlike leader. They received orders to help Segesta against the Selinuntines, to restore Leontini, and in every way to further the interests of Athens in Sicily.

Lamachus was a poor man but a good soldier, a brave and enterprising general. Nicias was a wealthy noble of the highest reputation for honour and patriotism; quiet and over-cautious, averse to undertaking a responsible command, but faithful in his endeavours to fulfil the duties imposed upon him by his country. Alcibiades was a singularly gifted man, of the most attractive and winning personality; a clever and eloquent speaker, a skilful politician, and negotiator with foreign States, but restless, ambitious, unscrupulous in the means he used, and looking chiefly to his own advancement and glorification.

A second assembly was held to ratify the decree of the first, and Nicias, at this, tried to persuade the Athenians to go back from their purpose. But the people, wildly excited by the reports of the sailors and by the eloquence of Alcibiades, would not listen to anyone else, and only called for larger and larger forces. They eagerly listened to descriptions of the size of the island, its marvellous fertility, its noble harbour and splendid cities; and delighted in tracing its outlines in the sand of the nearest sea-shore.

Nor were their feverish aspirations limited to Sicily. Supported by the boundless resources of that rich island, with its wealth, its fleets, its armies, they would soon conquer all Southern Italy, then the Peloponnesus, then Carthage and Africa, far away over the Mediterranean Sea to the Pillars of Hercules! They grew dizzy as the glorious vision rose before their eyes. "*Es war ein Traum!*"

Nicias, not well supported even by his own party, strove to dash the poisonous Circean cup from their lips, but in vain. He reminded them that they had not yet crushed the rebellion of their own subject

cities in Thrace; and said that it would be less dangerous to let Syracuse subdue all Sicily than to leave the Thracian revolt unquelled. He demanded that the matter should be referred once more to the judgment of the people.

Most of the popular orators, however, spoke in favour of the expedition, and especially the eloquent Alcibiades. He defended his own character and his political conduct in the past against Nicias; he spoke slightly of the power and resources of the Sicilians, ever weakened by disunion and domestic discord. He said that the number of hoplites (heavy-armed infantry soldiers) in Sicily was small, and that the Athenians would be able to excite the indigenous tribes against them. Nicias then resorted to an artifice; he said that if they were determined to send an expedition on such a hopeless venture they must prepare a far larger armament. They had to meet the forces of seven powerful cities: Syracuse, Messene, Himera, Camarina, Gela, Akragas (Agrigentum), and Selinus, several of which had strong forces of cavalry. If any one thought differently he should be glad to give up the chief command to him. Then a popular leader named Demostratus rose and said: "This is no time for evasion and delay; let Nicias state plainly how large the force must be." Nicias, thus driven to bay, replied: "We must equip a hundred triremes, five thousand hoplites, with the due proportion of light-armed troops." The assembly immediately resolved that the size and nature of the armament should be left to the discretion of the generals; and thus the evil counsels of Alcibiades and his party prevailed.

Athens had just begun to recover from the awful scourge of the famous plague. Her finances were again flourishing, and she had three thousand talents in the state treasury. The city undertook to furnish a hundred triremes and forty transports, and the pay of the crews was fixed at a drachma a day. The "trierarchs," the richer citizens who furnished the

ships of war, took command of them. There arose a keen rivalry between them as to who should have the best vessels and the smartest crews, which led them to add to the pay of the men from their own resources. The "hoplites," being mostly men of property, were followed by their own servants, and they, too, vied with one another in procuring the best and most beautiful arms and the necessary supplies for a long campaign. Only a few failed to partake in the universal enthusiasm. Socrates was warned by his "demon" not to join the expedition, and Meton the astronomer, to avoid compulsion, pretended to be mad, and set fire to his own house. He had been warned by the stars, for he was an astrologer. Jupiter Ammon, indeed, predicted that the Athenian army would capture all the Syracusans; but there were also evil omens. A statue of Athene at Delphi had been defiled and damaged by birds; a man had mutilated himself on the altar of the Twelve Gods; a priestess of Athene, who in obedience to an oracle had been fetched from Clazomenæ, was named "Hesychia," that is, "Rest," or "Peace." During the discussion in the assembly the wailing of the women who were celebrating the festival of Adonis was distinctly heard. These sinister phenomena caused some anxiety and agitation among the people; but far worse was to come.

In the middle of May, 415 B.C., a short time before the expedition started, the citizens of Athens, on rising in the morning, were horrified beyond all measure to find all the Hermæ (statues of Mercury) shamefully defaced and mutilated. No one had seen anything suspicious, but it was evident that the fearful outrage had been perpetrated by a large number of conspirators. The terrified people, suspecting that the incident was part of a plot against the democracy, offered large rewards for the discovery of the criminals. Numerous informers came forward; and, as they had discovered nothing about the mutila-

tion of the Hermæ, they raked up a number of similar crimes from the past. They reported that other images of gods had been defaced; and that a mock celebration of the holy Eleusinian mysteries had been enacted; and that in all these impious and scandalous proceedings Alcibiades had taken a leading part. These accusations, testified by slaves suborned by the enemies of Alcibiades, turned the suspicion and hatred of the multitude against the man whom they had just appointed to the command of their army. His enemies were numerous and influential. Many envied him on account of his splendid person and appearance; others feared him as an opponent of the aristocracy; and many, no doubt, were anxious to rid the city of an unscrupulous and dangerous personage. These cried out that it was he who had defaced the Hermæ, insulted the great goddesses Demeter (Ceres) and Cora (Persephone), and who harboured treacherous designs against the democratic government. But Alcibiades had many supporters, and most men regarded him as the cleverest and most energetic of the commanders, on whom the success of the expedition to Sicily would mainly depend. Alcibiades demanded a searching inquiry, saying that if anything were proved against him he was ready to die. But this was not at all what his enemies desired; they said that he must go to Sicily, and surrender himself for trial on those charges when he returned.

The fleets of the allies and subject States had been ordered to proceed to Coreyra (Corfu), where the ships of burthen were already assembled. But the Athenians were looking forward with feverish eagerness to the grand spectacle at the Piræus, from which all their ships of war were to put out to sea on the same day. The whole population of Athens hastened down to the shore to feast their eyes on the unexampled splendour of the fleet, which contained all the noblest and dearest of their countrymen. Mothers were there, to gaze, perhaps for the last time, upon

their sons; wives and maidens, on their husbands and lovers; sisters, on their brothers; and all, on the gallant men who were going to subdue enemies of their beloved city, to extend her dominion, to display her glory. Yet pride and joy were not the only feelings with which they contemplated the departure of the flower of their country. The former undoubted confidence was shaken by the solemn warning of Nicias, their wisest man, by the sinister omens, and by the awful outrage on the Hermæ. Hope and fear alternately ruled in their hearts; shouts of joy were mingled with the wailing of women, terrified by their own fearful gaze into futurity—hope, that they might gain their object; then depressing doubts whether they should ever see their dear ones again. When all was ready, silence was proclaimed by a trumpet-call; the herald then offered the customary prayers in the name of all; on board of every ship craters (mixing-bowls) and goblets of gold and silver stood ready for the libations which were poured to all the gods; and hymns of praise were raised in the ships, in which the whole multitude on shore enthusiastically joined. Then the final signal was given, and ship after ship sailed from the harbour, and waited outside for the rest. When all were gathered together, the crews threw off the gloom of parting and challenged each other to a joyful race as far as Ægina. And thus, with hearts beating high with pride and joyful hopes, they merrily went their way to defeat, captivity, and death.

CHAPTER XVII

REVIEW OF ARMY AND NAVY AT CORCYRA

ON their arrival at Corcyra the generals held a review of the whole force, both naval and military. It consisted of a hundred and thirty-five triremes, a hundred being furnished by Athens, two pentecontors (fifty-oared ships of burthen, of the Rhodians), fifty fast-sailers and fifty transports; the rest were furnished by Chios and other allies. Of the army there were 5400 "hoplites," of whom fifteen hundred were Athenian citizens, and seven hundred "thetes," also Athenians, but of a poorer class, to whom armour was given by the State, and who served as "epibatai" (marines) on board ship; there were five hundred Argive hoplites and 250 Mantineans; there were, further, 480 bowmen, partly Cretans, seven hundred Rhodian slingers, 120 Megarian exiles, and thirty horsemen in a ship by themselves. Moreover, there were thirty ships laden with provisions, and a number of vessels carrying masons, carpenters, bakers, and the necessary tools for building walls. A hundred of the ships belonged to private individuals, and many others followed for the sake of trade. The force was one of the largest ever sent out by Athens and her allies, the whole number of men being 36,000; but, as we shall see, it was deficient in cavalry and in light-armed troops.

At Coreyra no plan of operations was formed, but the generals sent forward envoys to Italy and Sicily to learn what towns were ready to receive them, and to enquire about the money promised by Segesta. But the fleet sailed along the coast of Italy, without waiting for the return of the envoys.

Reports of the sailing of the Athenian expedition had reached Syracuse, but had excited little attention, for very few believed them. Hermocrates, leader of the aristocratic party, was the first to rouse the Syracusans from their apathetic security. He had extensive connexions in Greece and many sources of information. He advised the Syracusans to bind the native Sicels in a closer alliance, and to warn the "Siceliots" (Sicilian Greeks) in other cities of the imminent danger which threatened them all alike. He said, too, that they must also persuade the Italian cities to help them, or at any rate to remain neutral. He further advised them to send ambassadors to Carthage, but, above all, to Sparta and to Corinth, from whom support might confidently be expected. They ought, also, at once to build new ships, to provide stores for two months, and to meet the Athenians in the Ionian Sea, where the Tarentines would lend them a harbour.

This speech of Hermocrates caused great excitement in the assembly specially summoned to hear his proposals, but few were convinced by his prudent counsels; the mass of the people mistrusted him and his friends as aristocrats, and believed that they were plotting to overthrow the democratic government of Syracuse. Some of the younger men, who were ardent worshippers of Hermocrates, had been heard to complain that the existing constitution gave the same rights to the poor man as to the rich. The chief opponent of Hermocrates was Athenagoras, who, with characteristic bluntness, gave expression to the opinion of the many: "If the Athenians should come," he said, "the existing armament was quite sufficient to

meet them ; they could leave the care of their interests in the hands of the generals." Fresh reports, however, which could not be doubted, soon reached Syracuse ; but all too late.

Meantime, the Athenian armada was ill received in Italy. They were refused admittance into the harbour of Tarentum. Even the non-Dorian towns only allowed them to land outside the walls to get water, and would not sell them food. Worst of all, even Rhegium, which in former wars they had used as their citadel, grudgingly permitted them to encamp near the temple of Artemis (Diana), and did not afford them a market. While they rested for awhile at Rhegium the envoys who had been sent to Segesta returned, and brought word that only thirty talents of money were available, and revealed the fraud which had been practised on the former mission. Nicias alone was not surprised, but now all knew the worst of it. The three generals—the ever-cautious, slow-moving Nicias, the rash, audacious Alcibiades, and the energetic but practical Lamachus—naturally differed very widely as to the course to be now pursued. Nicias counselled the Athenians to give up the expedition altogether ; he said they ought to sail to Segesta, to ask whether the Segestans would furnish money for the whole force, or, at the very least, for sixty ships ; and that then they should strive to reconcile Selinus and Segesta, and sail with the whole fleet past the other cities, to parade before the Sicilians the power and glory of Athens. Lastly, they might help Leontini, capture one other city, and then return home.

Lamachus gave perhaps the best advice : that they should attack Syracuse while that city was still terrified and quite inadequately prepared for defence. He proposed also that they should choose Megara as a harbour for their fleet. If Lamachus had been supported by Alcibiades his plan would have been adopted. But fate and the Gods were adverse, and

the golden opportunity was lost. Alcibiades had a plan of his own by which, if adopted, he would be able to show off his diplomatic talents, of which he was inordinately vain. He proposed that before attacking Syracuse they should try to win over the rest of Sicily by sending envoys to all the Greek towns. They ought to conciliate the Sicels, and engage them to bring supplies from the interior of the island. Finally, they should seize on Messene, and make it the base of operations. This fatal policy of inaction and delay was adopted, and thereby the fate of the Athenian expedition sealed. In order to seem to be doing something they sailed to Naxos, and were received within the city, but Catana refused them admission.

The Syracusans meanwhile, who had fully expected that the Athenians would immediately attack in full force, had time to make their defensive preparations. They made use of the unexpected respite with all possible energy and despatch. When the Athenians reached Syracuse they sent ships into the Great Harbour to reconnoitre and to let the Leontines in the city know that their friends had arrived. A herald on one of the ships proclaimed that they were come to help the Leontines to rebuild their city, and invited them to come boldly out. Of course no one came, but the proclamation was a declaration of war to Syracuse.

Some Athenian soldiers who had landed from the ships at Catana found an undefended gate, which they promptly broke down, and appeared in the city. The Catanians at that moment were holding an assembly, and those who were loyal to their government left the market-place. The remainder, including probably the friendly Leontines, passed a decree of alliance with the Athenians, and expressed the wish that the rest of the Athenian army should come over from Rhegium to Catana.

Favourable news now came from Camarina that

the citizens of that town had changed their minds, and were ready to act against Syracuse. The Athenian fleet therefore set sail, and, passing Syracuse, cast anchor in the roads of Camarina. They then sent envoys into the town asking for admission and friendly succour. To their great astonishment the answer was unfavourable. The Camarinians would receive only one ship. The Athenians therefore, greatly disappointed, sailed away. Landing on Syracusan territory they plundered it, but with little success. After losing some men in a fight they returned to Catana with little booty and less glory.

On their arrival at Catana they were met by the astounding intelligence that the Salaminia, the Athenian state galley used for religious and other important missions, had come with orders for Alcibiades and some of his friends to return at once to Athens to be put upon their trial! The enemies of Alcibiades had carried their point by working on the public conscience of sin unatoned for; and when Andocides the orator came forward saying that he had been initiated into the plot but had disapproved of it, the conspirators whom he denounced were executed. But the greatest suspicion and anger were directed against Alcibiades, who was suspected of treachery to the state. The appearance of a Lacedemonian army on the Isthmus, "to help the Bœotians" who needed no help, increased the apprehensions of the people at Athens. They were so alarmed by the denunciations of the numerous informers that they placed a guard at the temple of Theseus and sent the Salaminia to bring back Alcibiades and his fellow-conspirators. But to avoid scandal among the Argives and Mantineans they directed that he should return in his own ship.

He obeyed, but only followed the Salaminia as far as Thurii, and there disappeared on hearing that the Athenians had condemned him to death. When told of the sentence passed upon him he cried out, "I will

soon let them know that I am alive!" To his unbridled temper it seemed pleasanter to do evil than good. The departure of Alcibiades had the worst possible consequences in the affairs of Sicily, for it practically threw the whole conduct of operations into the hands of Nicias, an honourable but timid, superstitious and slow-moving man.

He still continued, however, to carry on the mischievous policy of Alcibiades—to seek allies before attacking Syracuse. The Athenians first tried to gain over Himera, but in vain; then they besieged and took the Sicanian town of Hyccara, which they left in the keeping of Segesta, but carried off the inhabitants as slaves. By way of losing more time Nicias sailed with a part of his fleet to inquire at Segesta how matters stood in that deceitful town. He found, of course, only the money contribution of thirty talents, which he took away. Then a division of the fleet was sent along the north coast to persuade the Sicels to send soldiers in aid of the Athenian army, but the mission entirely failed.

And thus the Athenians passed the summer of 415 B.C. in petty and useless operations, while their enemies in Syracuse were increasing their forces by land and sea, strengthening their fortifications, and rendering the task of the Athenians more and more difficult, more and more impracticable.

The Syracusans, so lately almost in despair, now laid aside their fears, and looked with confidence to the future. The Athenians had made no attack; they had failed at Himera and at Hybla; they had failed to win over the Sicels; they had lost their boldest and most adventurous leader, and they had gained no important allies in Sicily. So confident had the Syracusans become, so low an opinion did they now form of the once dreaded invaders, that they even thought of attacking them at Catana. A few of the cavalry rode to within a short distance of the Athenian camp at Catana, and asked whether they intended to

settle there for ever. Then the Athenians tried a stratagem by which they attained some success. They sent a man, formerly a friend of the Syracusans, who had deserted to the Athenians to Catana—who said that he came on behalf of the Syracusan party in Catana to show the Syracusans how they might easily get rid of the Athenians. If the Syracusans would approach Catana on a certain day their party would keep the gates of the town open and be ready to sally forth at a given signal; and thus the Athenians, being caught between two fires, might be utterly destroyed. The Syracusans fell into the trap; their whole force, including the Selinuntines, marched out to Catana and bivouacked on the river Simæthus. Then the Athenian army quietly took ship and sailed to Syracuse, which was left denuded of its principal defenders. At the same time the Syracusan cavalry rode to the Athenian camp and found it deserted. They galloped back to Syracuse, but too late, for the Athenians were already in the Great Harbour, and had even time to encamp.

As you enter this noble harbour you have the city on your right hand and the low-lying peninsula of Plemmyrion on your left, and in front of you is a range of hills once crowned with the temple of Olympian Zeus, of which traces are still found in the cornfields. The Athenians pitched their camp to the south-east of the Olympeion, between the marsh which surrounds Cyane and the harbour. They carried a palisade round their ships to protect them from attack, built a fort on Dascon (*hodie*, Paula Cederini), and broke down the bridge over the Anapus. Here they were in a position either to accept battle or to decline it, and they were safe from cavalry.

The Syracusans, on their return from Catana, offered battle, which the Athenians declined; but on the following day an engagement was fought, well described by Thucydides. The Argives and Mantineans occupied the right wing of the besieging army; on the left



were the other allies; the Athenians held the centre. Half of this force formed the fighting column, drawn up eight deep; the other half stood back on the slope of a hill formed in a long hollow square, the sides of which were eight deep, and their baggage was piled in the middle; these were ordered to bring help wherever they saw that it was needed.

The Syracusans, with their allies, of whom the Selinuntines were the strongest force; the Geloan cavalry, two hundred in number, and twenty horsemen and fifty bowmen from Camarina, were drawn up, sixteen in file; their cavalry, in all twelve hundred strong, was ranged in the right wing, with the archers beside it.

When the armies were about to join battle, Nicias addressed his troops in a speech. "What need is there, oh soldiers, of exhortation, by well-chosen words, to give you courage for the present conflict? Where Argives and Mantineans stand with Athenians, and the best of the islanders, should we not have fair hopes of victory? And what men are those whom you now encounter? Siceliots, who as yet, though affecting to despise you, have not dared to meet you in battle; and are not, like you, the picked men of their nation, well trained for war. Remembering, then, your old renown, go forward cheerfully against the enemy; but let every man of you consider that, if *they* are fighting for their country, *you* are far away from *your* country, and without fighting you cannot gain any land of friendly refuge. You are under a necessity to conquer. These recollections of whom and what you are, and of where you are now, seem to me a fitting preparation for action."

The Syracusans appear on this day not really to have expected the battle, since the Athenians had declined it on the day before. They were in some hurry and confusion, and, being ill disciplined, many had left their ranks, and had gone into the city to take leave of their friends; and when they came back

they did not easily find the troop or century to which each man belonged.

The engagement began with skirmishing between the archers and slingers of the two armies. Then the soothsayers and priests brought victims for a sacrifice to the Gods, and offered prayers. The trumpeters on both sides having sounded the signal to charge, fighting began in earnest. For a time fortune held an equal balance; but in the midst of the contest there arose a violent storm, which so frightened the Syracusans, most of whom were fighting for the first time, that they lost heart, and began to give ground. When the Argives pressed hard upon their left wing, and the Athenians on the centre, they retreated, and were finally broken and dispersed.

The Athenians pursued as far as was safe, being almost without cavalry, but were checked by the numerous Syracusan horsemen, and could not take full advantage of their victory; so they returned from the pursuit and raised a trophy. The Syracusans, though beaten, were not dispirited, but sent a division to guard the Olympeion, as they feared that the enemy might plunder this rich temple of Zeus. They assembled on the Helorian road, and it was found that about two hundred and sixty of their men had been killed; of the Athenians and their allies, between thirty and fifty. On the next day Nicias allowed a truce for the burial of their dead, and burnt those of his own army.

The winter season now approaching, the Athenian generals resolved to suspend the operations of the siege and to take the army back to Catana for winter quarters. Thus far they had done little more than reconnoitre, and Nicias spent the winter months in petty operations or in virtual inaction, while he sent messengers to Athens asking for reinforcements.

The Syracusans had lost much of their overweening confidence: they saw that the Athenians were not to be despised, and that a mighty struggle lay before



them. They listened now with more respect to the wise and far-seeing counsels of Hermocrates, which had been good from the first. He told them that it was not surprising, and not shameful or disgraceful, to have had their inexperienced and untried troops beaten, in a first engagement, by the very best army of Greece. The fault, he said, lay chiefly with their generals, and it was *their* fault that the troops had not been well trained and well handled. There were, he declared, too many generals; they should be fewer and do better. The assembly at Syracuse saw that he was right, and now appointed only three generals, Hermocrates himself to be the chief, with full powers.

Making use, in the meantime, of the opportunity that was now afforded them by the fatal apathy of Nicias, they sent envoys to Corinth and Lacedæmon, begging those States to renew the war in Greece, so as to compel the Athenians to withdraw their troops from Sicily; and the defences of their own city were diligently strengthened. It seems probable that until this time only Ortygia, Achradina, and perhaps Tyche had been properly fortified; and that the suburb around the temple of Apollo Temenites, afterwards called Neapolis, lay quite open to an aggressor. This quarter the Syracusans now surrounded with a wall, at some distance from the Great Harbour, joined to the wall of Achradina, which would oblige the Athenian besiegers also to build walls of still greater length. To the north of their city the Syracusans fortified the deserted town of Megara, and on the south side the suburb around the Olympeion, in order to check the march of the Athenians on Syracuse from both sides. In the harbour they rammed piles at the landing-places to prevent the enemy from anchoring their ships.

The Athenians now sailed to Messene, in the hope of winning it to their cause; but Alcibiades had been there before them, sowing evil seeds and betraying

to the Syracusan party in that place the plans and intentions of the Athenians. This party was thus enabled to gain the upper hand and to refuse dealings with the Athenian leaders, who waited in vain for thirteen days, and then departed on account of bad weather. They moved their camp to Naxos, to be nearer Messene, and sent messengers to Athens, asking for cavalry and for more money. They then endeavoured to gain over Camarina, and sent Euphemius to plead their cause.

The Syracusans, at the very same time, sent Hermocrates on a similar errand. They confronted one another in the assembly of the Camarinians, and Hermocrates was permitted to address the assembly first. He pointed out to them that none of the States, not even Rhegium, had joined the Athenians; that within a very short time help would be sent to Syracuse by Sparta and Corinth; and, lastly, he threatened them with the vengeance of the Syracusans if they remained neutral.

Then Euphemius spoke. He declared that the Athenians had come reluctantly, to prevent Syracuse from sending aid to Sparta against Athens in Greece. He said that they had no intention of remaining in the island, and that the Sicilians had more to fear from Syracusan than from Athenian ambition.

Having heard both sides, the Camarinians determined to remain neutral. And thus the Athenians, after all their efforts to carry out the policy of Alcibiades, had Catana and Naxos, and Segesta, and part of the Sicels, as their only friends. The Sicels on the east coast were subject to Syracuse, but in the centre of the island they remained independent, and these, especially the Sicel prince Archonides, favoured the Athenians. They hoped, through the Athenians, to recover the power which they had enjoyed for a time under Ducetius. They sent corn and a little money to the Athenian camp at Catana, some horses, and bricks and mortar for fortification.



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So disheartened was Nicias by this state of affairs that he, throwing aside all Hellenic patriotism, actually sought the aid of Carthage and of the Elymi, of Semitic nations, against kindred Aryans and Greeks!

CHAPTER XVIII

EVIL INFLUENCE OF ALCIBIADES

THE Syracusan envoys went first to Corinth, where they were welcomed with many fair promises, and some leading Corinthians went with them to Sparta. But the Spartans only promised to send envoys to exhort the Syracusans to stubborn resistance, and the Syracusans were about to depart, *re infectâ*, when Alcibiades appeared on the scene and earnestly supported the proposals which they and the Corinthians made to Sparta. He won the confidence of the Spartans by betraying the intentions of Athens to occupy Deceleia permanently. He told them that the Athenians expected to conquer, first, the whole of Sicily; then all Southern Italy; then even Carthage; and finally, with an enormous fleet and army, to throw themselves upon the Peloponnesus, and make it a subject and tributary State. In conclusion, he exhorted them to send an army and an experienced Spartan general to Syracuse.

The Spartans were won by the influence and eloquence of Alcibiades, and chose Gylippus, son of Cleandridas, to be commander of the proposed expedition. His first act was to direct the Corinthians to send two ships to Asine, a harbour of Messene in Greece, and to prepare a fleet.

Athens, meanwhile, promised her generals in Sicily

the required cavalry and money, but expressed surprise and disappointment that a larger force was demanded than even Nicias had thought sufficient. In the spring of 414 B.C. the Athenians were by no means ready to undertake the siege of Syracuse, and, large as their force was, they thought it desirable to wait for reinforcements from Athens. To pass the time they assaulted Megara, the strong Syracusan fort which blockaded the road from Catana to Syracuse, but failed to take it. Then they made a raid through the interior of the country, by way of Inessa and Hybla, to Centoripa, which last town joined them and was of some assistance. On their return to Catana they found two hundred and fifty well-equipped cavalry men, for whom they were to procure Sicilian horses, besides thirty mounted archers and three hundred talents of money. Even Nicias now considered that they were strong enough to march to Syracuse. The Syracusans could be careless, too, and had not sufficiently considered the nature of the ground to the west of Tyche and Neapolis. The three generals—Hermocrates, Heracleides, and Sicanus—called an assembly of armed men in the meadows by the mouth of the river Anapus; and there told off six hundred picked men, and sent them, under the command of Diomilus, to occupy Epipolæ; but they found the Athenians already there before them.

On the preceding night the Athenian fleet had sailed from Catana with the intention of first seizing Epipolæ and then inclosing the city by a wall. To effect this purpose it was necessary to land as near Syracuse as possible, since Megara blocked the approach by land. The army disembarked at Leon, which was only six or seven stadia from Epipolæ. They ascended the height, not far from the westernmost and highest part of the rocky cliff, at a place called Euryelus. The six hundred Syracusan picked soldiers, when they came up, had to make their way from the meadows, for a distance of some twenty-five stadia, over a rugged

path; they therefore arrived in some confusion; yet they immediately engaged the Athenians and were defeated, with the loss of three hundred men, and of their leader, Diomilus. The survivors fled to the city; the Athenians erected a trophy, and a truce was granted for the burial of the dead.

So far the Athenians acted with judgment and vigour under the conduct of Lamachus. On the next day they marched to the city and offered battle, which the Syracusans declined.

The Athenians now had time to settle themselves on Epipolæ, where they occupied a most advantageous and commanding position. Behind them was the hilly country of south-eastern Sicily; to their left was Mount Ætna; before them lay the Ionian Sea, with many miles of coast; and below them, the great city of Syracuse. Their fleet lay near, at Thapsus; and, of course, it was very important that the army should be in touch with it. They had, first, to perform a most necessary work—the fortification of that part of Epipolæ by which the road lay; they also built a strong fort on the extreme edge of the plateau, and made it the arsenal for their siege machines. Here they awaited reinforcements, and soon received three hundred cavalry from Segesta, one hundred from Naxos and the Sicels; so that, with the two hundred and fifty men from Athens, for whom horses were got from Segesta and Catana, they had now six hundred and fifty horse-soldiers.

They then began to build the great walls, no easy task; the width of the isthmus joining Achradina to the mainland of Sicily was 13,000 feet, and what a wall would be necessary for their purpose! Moreover, where the wall must reach the Great Harbour, the ground was low and marshy; and on the south-west edge of this swamp the Syracusans had wisely built a fort, on the right bank of the river Anapus, and near the Olympeion. To build a wall three miles long, in the face of a strong city, which was defended by a

larger military force than the besiegers could bring into the field, seemed an almost hopeless task. They found it absolutely necessary to erect a fort in the centre of the line of the wall, which they called "Syke," from a fig-tree that grew close by. However, the Athenians, being very skilful masons, and urged on to this work by their fear of an attack, built with such haste that the wall seemed to grow up out of the ground.

The Syracusans, greatly alarmed, responded to the call of their generals, and flew to arms. The Athenians had expected it, and drew up in battle array to oppose them. The Syracusans, taken by surprise, fell into disorder; the retreat was sounded, and they left only some cavalry to harass the workmen. The Athenians, however, were now able to meet this cavalry with their own newly-raised troop of horse-soldiers, and with a *phyle* of hoplites to support them, and quickly drove the Syracusans back to the city. Then the Athenians joyfully raised their first trophy for a victory won by their cavalry! The Syracusans were sadly depressed, but did not cease from strenuous preparations for defence; they now resolved to build a counter-wall.

On the day after this battle the Athenians began to build from their fort "Syke" to the northward, because the fleet lay in that direction. They could then, on the north side, attack the city from three points, and from their fort called Labdalon, which they had built on the western height of Epipolæ; while, on the south side, their assault could be made only from one direction.

The Syracusans, however, considered that if *they* could carry a wall across to cut the intended line of the Athenian construction they would secure for themselves free communication with the interior of Sicily, under the protection of their own fort near the Olympeion. To the south of the fort they carried a wall, from the city, with wooden towers and palisades, for which they had to fell the sacred olive-trees in the precincts of the Temenite Apollo. When they had

carried this wall far enough, as they thought, to prevent the Athenians building to the south, they stopped the work, and only left a sufficient force to guard it.

About this time the Athenians had discovered a number of underground channels, or pipes, which conveyed water from Epipolæ into the city. These they cut; and, while so doing, observed that the guard of Syracusans, who had been left at the wall, were keeping but a very careless watch. A force consisting of three hundred hoplites and some light troops was then detached from the Athenian army, and was suddenly thrown upon that part of the defensive works. The army was formed in two divisions; one to prevent any of the Syracusans in the city coming out to aid those outside; the other division to destroy the newly-erected palisades. Both operations were carried out with complete success; and the defenders were so terrified by the unexpected attack that they fled to the newly-fortified sacred precincts of Apollo Temenites. The Athenians followed them but could not hold the position permanently, and contented themselves with destroying the cross wall of the Syracusans, and using the materials for their own purposes.

The Athenians now became aware that they must keep their eyes on the side towards the Great Harbour: so they left the north wall unfinished, and began to build towards the south. They also fortified the height of Epipolæ, where it was nearest the harbour, in order to have free access to the shore by way of the plain and marsh. The Syracusans now ran a defensive fortification, not a wall but a line of palisades, through this marsh. The object of the Athenians was to get possession of the Syracusan line of defences. Nicias was ill, and Lamachus was in sole command; he ordered the fleet at Thapsus to sail into the Great Harbour by daybreak. The army came down from Epipolæ along their wall and fell on the Syracusan

garrison of the palisades; they carried with them wooden planks on which they crossed the morass and captured the greater part of the line of defences. Then the main force of the Syracusans came from the city to help their friends, and a battle ensued, in which the Athenians were easily victorious. The Syracusans dispersed, some to the city, some to the river Anapus, intending to cross the bridge. The chosen three hundred Athenians tried to stop them from crossing the river; but the Syracusans, fighting with desperate valour, forced the three hundred to retreat, and even dared to attack the right wing of the Athenian army. This sudden and entirely unexpected attack threw the Athenians into some confusion; Lamachus came out to their help, with some Argives, and was slain by the hand of Calicrates. The Syracusans retreated by the right bank of the river Anapus, leaving the nominal victory to their enemies, and not yet knowing what a fatal blow had been dealt to the Athenians by the death of the brave and able Lamachus.

But seeing how the fortune of the battle had changed, the Syracusans took fresh courage, and attacked the heights of Epipolæ, where the Athenians had left but a few men. They gained possession of the outer fortification, which was about 1000 feet broad, and were on the point of capturing the round tower, where Nicias lay sick; he ordered the workmen, almost his sole defenders, to set fire to the mass of wood that lay before the works, and this prevented the besiegers from climbing the fort. Just then the Athenian fleet was entering the Great Harbour, and the Syracusans retreated into the city; the bodies of the dead were exchanged, the brave Lamachus among them.

So far, the Athenians had done well, but all was changed by the loss of Lamachus. Nicias rather liked a siege, and he now built a double wall between Epipolæ and the Great Harbour. On the whole the state of affairs seemed favourable to the Athenians;

they had an abundant supply of necessities, three penteconters having arrived from Etruria, and the Syracusans no longer faced the invaders in the open field, but were rapidly losing heart; for the promised help from Peloponnesus was long in coming, and to Syracuse all seemed lost. But the bright hopes of the Athenians were dashed by the procrastinating conduct of Nicias, which did more for their enemy than an army of thousands could have done.

The Syracusans, for their part, laid all the fault of their reverses upon their own generals, whom they forced to resign, and chose three new ones, Heracleides, Eucles, and Tellias. They began in Syracuse to talk of surrender, and some individuals went privately to Nicias to ask for his terms of peace. A revolt of the slaves broke out, under the leadership of Sosistratus, but was promptly put down, and the authority of their masters was restored; three hundred slaves went over to join the Athenians. This situation of affairs was at length relieved by the coming of Gylippus, the Spartan general, whose sole presence was worth an army to Syracuse. It had been long before he could collect a sufficient force; and when, in the middle of the summer, he touched at Leucas, he was informed that Syracuse was about to fall. This made him despair of effecting anything in Sicily, but he resolved to do all he could in Italy against Athens. He obtained an important helper in Pythen, the Corinthian, with whom he sailed to Tarentum, with two Corinthian and two Laconian ships; while ten other vessels of Corinth waited for several more to join them.

After meeting with a friendly reception at Tarentum, Gylippus passed on to Thurii, but could not gain the alliance of that community. He proceeded on his way, and a storm drove him back to Tarentum. In the meantime the Thurians had sent information of his approach to Nicias, who, thinking that the force of Gylippus was too small to be dangerous, took no steps to encounter him.

When Gylippus had repaired his damaged vessels he sailed to Locri, where he heard that Syracuse was not completely blockaded, and that he could still enter the Great Harbour. Nicias had, at last, sent four ships to Rhegium to stop the Laconian fleet; but these, on arriving there, found that Gylippus had gone farther on. Gylippus had a choice of two plans: either to go to Syracuse direct by sea, and force an entrance into the harbour; or to land at Himera and make his way thence by land to Syracuse. He chose the latter, though it would take more time. The Himereans readily supplied him with troops and arms; and he ordered the Selinuntines to meet him, in full force, on his way from Himera to Syracuse. The Geloans sent him troops and the Sicels did the same; for their prince, Archonides, who had, like Ducetius, been a friend of the Athenians, was now dead; and the Laconian party, which had gained the upper hand among the Sicels, befriended Gylippus. He now had seven hundred soldiers of his own, a thousand Himerean infantry and a hundred cavalry, a few horse-soldiers and light-armed men from Selinus and a thousand Sicels—in all, three thousand men.

Nicias, who, as an Athenian, must have known what it was to deal with a Spartan general like Gylippus, still neglected his defences, hesitated, and procrastinated. He was sluggish by nature, and was now, moreover, racked by a painful malady; and he was always inclined to listen to the idle vaticinations of the soothsayers. He trusted, too, in the aid of the Leontines who were in Syracuse, believing that they would deliver up the city. He had some foundation for this hope, as the Syracusans were actually about to call an assembly to discuss the question of surrender. But, at this critical moment, the Corinthian admiral, Gongylus, arrived in a Corinthian vessel, announcing both the near approach of some more Corinthian ships of war and the landing of Gylippus at Himera and his march through Sicily.

There was henceforth no more talk of surrender at Syracuse. The Syracusans now sallied forth, and marched to Epipolæ to meet the Spartan general. He came by way of Euryelus to the heights, and found them waiting for him. He led them at once against the Athenian fortifications, which had nearly reached the Great Harbour. The Athenians were busily at work upon their wall in that direction; but of the wall on the other side, that was to unite the round tower with the harbour of Trogilus, not much was finished.

Gylippus, who never lost time, sent a herald to the Athenians, ordering them to quit the island of Sicily within five days. No answer was returned to this audacious summons, and the Athenians prepared for battle. Gylippus was ready to meet them, but he saw that his troops were terrified by the sight of the well-ordered Athenian army drawn up in battle array. He therefore led them, not to the city, but to ground from which his cavalry could easily attack the enemy. Nicias remained in his fortified lines; and Gylippus passed the night in the precincts of the Temenite Apollo.

Next day Gylippus recommenced operations. He saw that he must wrest Epipolæ from the enemy, especially the northern half of it, where only Fort Labdalon was dangerous. He led his main army to the Athenian walls, but detached a small force to Labdalon, which they succeeded in taking, and cut the garrison to pieces. They thus gained possession of the northern half of Epipolæ, and began at once to fortify it.

The Syracusans had already built a wall from the city to prevent being shut in; and now that Labdalon had fallen they could carry a counter-wall to the north also. Seeing that the main force of the Athenians was at Epipolæ, Gylippus attacked the newly-finished south wall; but the Athenian guard were on the watch, and drove off the assailants.

The aspect of affairs was now quite changed for the worse to the Athenians; and even their superiority at sea was vanishing. On the same day on which Gylippus had taken Labdalon the Syracusans had captured an Athenian ship. Nicias now changed the position of his fleet, and chose Plemmyrion, at the entrance to the Great Harbour, as his new station. This had many advantages, but one serious fault, that it contained no springs of fresh water, which had to be fetched from a considerable distance. Gylippus, who saw everything, sent some cavalry to the Olympeion to harass the sailors when they landed to fetch water. He also pushed on his counter-wall, and drilled his troops in preparation for a great battle. The Syracusans were not wanting in courage, but in discipline and experience. He therefore had them out daily in the face of the enemy, who did not attack them. At last, when he thought them sufficiently hardened, he led them to the attack; but their cavalry, on which so much depended, was hemmed within a narrow space, and could not act. It was consequently beaten in this first encounter. Gylippus appeared before the whole army, and took all the blame on himself.

Then Nicias attacked in his turn; but Gylippus threatened the left flank of the Athenians with his cavalry and light-armed troops, so that they were beaten back. The Syracusans, having thus gained a temporary predominance, worked at their counter-wall with fresh zeal and hope. On the sea, too, the Athenians were steadily losing their superiority.

Nicias had sent twenty ships to the south point of Italy, in the region of Rhegium and Locri, to intercept the Corinthians who, as he heard, had started from Leucas. But, as usual, he was too late; the Corinthians were gone, and had got safely to Syracuse. Their fleet was commanded by Erasimides, who proved of great assistance by sending his men to work at the wall, and the Athenians did nothing to prevent them.

It was at this time, the end of September, 414 B.C., that Nicias wrote his famous and interesting despatch to Athens—which, happily, Thucydides has given us in full—frankly revealing the unfortunate circumstances in which he found himself. “After we had beaten the enemy in several engagements, and built the fortified lines which we now occupy, Gylippus the Spartan came with a force partly Lacedæmonian, partly Sicilian; these, too, we defeated in the first action, but were then overwhelmed by their numerous cavalry and light-armed troops, and were forced to retreat within our lines. The enemy, with their superior numbers and resources, have carried an intersecting wall beyond our circumvallation; so that we cannot complete the latter, not having force enough to storm their entrenchments. And now, instead of besieging them, we are ourselves besieged. Moreover, the Syracusans have sent to the Peloponnesus for reinforcements; and Gylippus is visiting all the Sicilian cities, stirring them up against us, and getting from them additional supplies for their army and their fleet. It is evidently their intention not only to assail our lines on the land, but also to attack us by sea with their ever-increasing fleet.

“They see that our ships are rotting, from being so long in the water, and that we cannot haul them ashore to refit. They see, too, that our crews are wasting away; for our best sailors, our own citizens, who have to go far to fetch wood and water, are often cut off by the Syracusan cavalry. And the slaves who serve in our fleet, seeing that our superiority is gone, desert us; while the strangers whom we have pressed into our service now leave us, and make their way to the neighbouring cities. And those who followed us, not to fight, but to enrich themselves by traffic, now that they see the enemy fully equal to us by sea, either join them, or disperse through the wide area of Sicily. Some of these even bribe the triarchs to accept Hyccarian slaves as

substitutes, and thus destroy the discipline of our marine. Every one knows that no crew remains for any length of time in a perfect condition, even under more favourable circumstances.

"Nor can I provide new recruits, as our enemy easily can, from many parts of the island, for the whole country is open to him. Our only allies, Catana and Naxos, are far too insignificant to afford us any real assistance; and if, as seems not improbable, the Italians from whom we now draw our supplies should turn against us, we should be starved into surrender without a battle.

"I can assure you that in regard to the forces against which you sent me at the first, neither your generals nor your soldiers have done themselves discredit. But now that all Sicily is united against us and our enemies expect further aid from the Peloponnesus, we have not sufficient strength to contend with our ever-increasing difficulties. You must, then, either order us to return home, or send an army and a fleet, not inferior to those we have here; and you must send a general to supersede me, for I am rendered incapable of work by a painful disease of the kidneys. I think I have a right from my services in various commands to ask this indulgence at your hands.

"But, whatever you decide to do must be done quickly, for the enemy are continually receiving fresh succours from Sicily, and other aid will soon be coming to them from Peloponnesus."¹

Such is a brief epitome of the famous despatch that we find in the history by Thucydides, which was read to the Athenians in their assembly at the end of November, 414 B.C. It was no doubt warmly debated upon; of which debate, unfortunately, we have no record. The Athenians resolved to prosecute the war with all vigour, adopting the second alternative suggested by Nicias, to send a second powerful force,

¹ Grote's *History of Greece*.

both naval and military, while they refused to recall Nicias, but appointed Menander and Euthydemus, who were already with the army in Sicily, to take a portion of his labours on their shoulders. It was further resolved to send Eurymedon to Syracuse about the winter solstice, in command of ten triremes, bringing a hundred and twenty silver talents, and promises of speedy aid ; and to prepare a new and formidable force, under the command of Demosthenes and Eurymedon, to act in Sicily in the early spring.

CHAPTER XIX

MISTAKEN LOYALTY OF ATHENS TO NICIAS

HERE we cannot but observe with astonishment the long-suffering patience with which the Athenians treated their countryman, Nicias, who was the ultimate cause of their failure in Sicily. He knew that the fleet must rapidly deteriorate, and yet he spent eight precious months after arriving in Sicily in the most trifling and futile measures before commencing the siege of Syracuse. And yet we hear of no denunciatory attacks upon him, which he well deserved, but only of the ready adoption of the measures which he proposed and a renewal of confidence in himself! By his advice they now sent twenty triremes into Peloponnesian waters to prevent the Corinthian and Spartan ships, numbering twenty-five, from leaving Naupactus. Sparta, urged on by Alcibiades, had begun to fortify Deceleia, from which to harass the Athenian territory. The history of Sicily now becomes part, and a very important part, of the history of Greece, throughout which the din of the rekindled war resounded.

The Athenians, then, sent Charicles with thirty ships to take up hoplites from Argos and to cooperate with Demosthenes, at any rate for a time, in their second expedition to Sicily. The two fleets, having joined at Ægina, and having devastated the territory of Epidaurus, sailed to the point of Laconia which lies

opposite to the island of Cythera, where they fortified a position upon a projecting tongue of land. Charicles returned thence to Argos with the hoplites, while Demosthenes conducted the fleet round the Peloponnesus to Corcyra. On the Eleian coast, he captured a transport which was carrying hoplites to Syracuse, but the men escaped. Thence he proceeded to Zacynthus and Cephallenia, from which he obtained assistance, and to Anactoria in order to procure some Acarnanian darters and slingers. There he met Eurymedon with ten triremes, who had, in the winter, been sent on to Syracuse with the money voted by the Athenians.

The Lacedæmonians, on their side, were actively employed in preparing for the coming struggle. They sent six hundred Helots and Neodamai (enfranchised Helots) armed like hoplites, to operate against the Athenians at Syracuse. A short time before three hundred Bœotian hoplites, under the Thebans Xenon and Nikon and the Thespian Hegesandrus, had started for the same service; the Corinthians, too, had sent five hundred hoplites under Alexarchus and two hundred Sicyonians to aid the cause in Sicily.

In the meantime, the position of the Athenians in Sicily was going from bad to worse. Gylippus had returned from his journey around the island, and he now determined, in conjunction with Hermocrates, to venture a sea-fight with the Athenian sailors, once so greatly dreaded. It was with this battle that the campaign of the year 413 B.C. commenced. In the assembly of the Syracusans Hermocrates addressed his fellow-countrymen as follows: "The Athenians," he said, "were not always such bold and skilful sailors as they are now, but were mere landsmen like yourselves. The only way to defeat bold men is to show yourselves still bolder; to go straight at them in front, before they expect you, for then you will gain more, by surprising and frightening them, than they, from their superior science and skill."

Syracuse, as we have seen, possessed two ports or harbours, one at each side of the little island of Ortygia. The smaller of the two lay on the north side of Ortygia; the Great Harbour was on the south side of the isle; and both were protected by stakes driven into the water, along the shores. The smaller port included the principal Syracusan docks, and the Syracusan fleet of eighty triremes was distributed between the two harbours. The whole of the Athenian fleet lay at the entrance to the Great Harbour, beneath the forts on Plemmyrion, opposite to the south point of Ortygia.

Gylippus laid his plan with great skill, so as to take the Athenians by surprise. At dawn of day the two divisions of the Syracusan fleet sailed out from both ports at the same moment—forty-five battle-ships from the lesser harbour, and thirty-five from the Great Harbour. The Athenians, though surprised, quickly manned sixty of their own ships; with twenty-five of these they met the thirty-five Syracusan triremes from the Great Harbour, and with the remaining thirty-five encountered the forty-five of Syracuse coming from the smaller northern port. At first the Syracusans were victorious; but from their inexperience in naval warfare they fell into confusion, and the Athenians, recovering from the first shock, renewed the attack, and easily defeated them, sinking eleven of their ships and capturing the crews of three. The Athenians lost but three triremes.

But, simultaneously with the naval battle, Gylippus had planned a land attack on the three forts of Plemmyrion, from which the Athenians were anxiously watching the fight of the ships in the Great Harbour. So thoroughly was their attention absorbed by this sight that they did not observe the manœuvres of Gylippus, until he appeared with his whole army before the forts. The Athenians hastened back to them, but came too late; and all the three forts, with their garrisons, were captured. Gylippus destroyed

two, keeping the third and smaller one. The Athenians had indeed been victors in the sea fight, but this success was fully outweighed by the loss of the Plemmyrion forts.

So confident and fearless did the Syracusans now become that they sent out twelve ships under Agatharchus, one of which sailed to the Peloponnesus with the good news, and the others coasted Italy and destroyed some vessels carrying supplies to the Athenians. On their way back they stopped at Locri, where one of the merchant ships carrying Thespian troops presently arrived; these Agatharchus took into his own ships and sailed homeward. At Megara he was attacked by twenty Athenian triremes, but lost only one ship; the rest reached Syracuse in safety.

The loss of Plemmyrion obliged the Athenians to remove their fleet to the point where their siege wall touched the shore of the Great Harbour, and where it would be near their land force. Here they were cramped within a small space in the innermost part of the Great Harbour, between the city wall and the river Anapus, the Syracusans being masters everywhere else. Here, too, they lay close to a part of the Syracusan fleet, which led to constant encounters. The naval station of Syracuse, as we have said, was protected by piles rammed into the water. So the Athenians built a big ship of a thousand talents' weight burthen (250 tons), with towers, under the protection of which they tried to draw out the stakes, and sent down divers to saw them asunder. They did in fact remove most of them; but Nicias, as usual, failed to follow up the advantage thus gained, and new piles were quickly rammed in by the Syracusans.

Meantime Corinthians, Syracusans, and Ambraciots were going through the island, spreading the news of the Athenian reverses, and seeking help in all quarters. They were everywhere well received, for the prospects

of Syracuse were now most encouraging, and those of Nicias were almost hopeless. All the Greek cities, except Akragas (Agrigentum), Naxos, and Catana, joined the winning side; Camarina and Gela even furnished troops, and an additional force was gathered from other cities. It was resolved to march with these reinforcements, under command of the envoys from their own cities, across the interior of the country. But here, for once, Nicias was beforehand with his enemy. He sent messengers to the friendly Sicels, especially to Centoripa, calling upon them to obstruct the march of the allies of Syracuse. The Sicels vigorously attacked them and slew eight hundred of them, including all the envoys except the Corinthians, who escaped to Syracuse with fifteen hundred men. This disaster so damped the spirits of the Syracusans for a time that they relaxed their usual strenuous activity. Time was thus allowed for Demosthenes and Eurymedon to reach Syracuse with the second Athenian expedition.

Demosthenes, as has been stated, had sailed from the Laconian coast to Corcyra. On his way, crossing the Ionian sea, he touched at the southern point of Italy, and at the Choerades, two isles (now called San Pietro and San Paolo) opposite the harbour of Tarentum. He renewed the old alliance of Athens with Artas, the chief of Iapygia, from whom he borrowed fifty Iapygian spearmen and a hundred Messapians. Thence he proceeded to Metapontium, which supplied him with three hundred spearmen and two triremes; he went next to Thurii, where the citizens were divided in opinion for and against Athens. The latter party were expelled, and Demosthenes was received by the Thurians with full honours, and they voted him a contingent of seven hundred hoplites and three hundred spearmen. He then sailed on to the river Hylias, visiting all the Greek coast towns except Locri, and steered from the promontory of Leucopetra straight for Sicily.

When he was approaching Rhegium, and within three days' sail of Syracuse, he heard the news that Gylippus and Hermocrates were resolved to engage the Athenians in a second sea-fight. The Syracusans were well aware of the great superiority of the Athenians on sea, especially in manœuvring, upon which success mainly depended. The object in a battle was to strike the flank or side of an enemy's vessel, with the brazen beak, in which manœuvre the Athenians were perfect masters. But this superiority could be fully shown only on the open sea, and the coming battle had to be fought in the narrow space of the harbour.

The Syracusans had a great advantage in possessing almost all the open shore, to which they could retreat in safety, in case of accident or defeat; but an Athenian ship, once driven to the land, was lost. The ships of Athens, too, were lightly built for speed and for easy steering; but in the harbour these points of superiority no longer availed, as they could not get round the enemy's vessels. Of the effect of these altered circumstances their enemy was now well aware, and was vigorously preparing to profit by them. The Syracusans perceived that in future it would be a collision of prow against prow, beak against beak, and therefore, by the advice of Ariston, a skilful Corinthian steersman, they shortened the prows of their vessels, added greatly to their weight and solidity, and lowered their height, trusting thereby to strike the forepart of the opposing vessel not much above the level of the water, and to crush it by main force. They also pushed forward the "epotides," which were somewhat like what we call the "cat-heads," a pair of side-pieces of timber, on the right and left of the prow, projecting forward that they might strike the hostile ship at the same time with the beak of the prow. The Corinthians had already proved the value of this innovation in a former sea-fight.

When all was ready Gylippus led his troops against the eastern wall of the Athenian siege lines, while the Syracusan cavalry and the troops of the garrison at the Olympeion advanced towards them from another side; the fleet of Syracuse, at the same time, numbering about eighty ships, came out and drew near the station of the Athenian fleet, which mustered seventy-five. The Athenians were preparing to defend their walls, not expecting an attack on their ships, when they saw the Syracusan fleet issuing from the docks ready for battle. Though surprised and confused, they manned their vessels and fought all day, with trifling results, until the Syracusans withdrew. Next day the Syracusans remained quiet, and the Athenians spent their time in repairing their vessels and fortifying their station. In front of their palisade, and just at the openings in it, they moved heavy merchant vessels furnished with "dolphins," ponderous beams armed at the ends with iron heads, lifted up on high, which could be dropped upon any ship trying to get through the opening in the palisade.

At early dawn next morning the Syracusans renewed the attack on the Athenian position by land and sea. But this day, too, passed without any serious fighting; the Athenians were awaiting the arrival of Demosthenes, and the Syracusans were not over-confident. By the advice, again, of Aristo, their generals ordered the provision vessels to bring victuals to the shore of the Great Harbour, so that the crews might take their meal, and immediately after it embark and attack the Athenians. The Athenians, seeing that the men on the enemy's side had retired without bringing on a general engagement, thought there would be no more fighting on that day, and betook themselves to getting their own food. But before they had had time for eating they saw the Syracusans, refreshed by a hasty but sufficient dinner, embarking and coming on in full force. The Athenians, tired, hungry, and confused, ran to their ships. Yet

the Syracusans did not attack, for they considered it would be more advantageous for them to await and repel an attack made by the Athenians, and the same desultory skirmishing took place as on the previous day.

At last the Athenian captains, weary of the delay, gave the signal for a general advance. This was exactly what the Syracusans wanted, and they met the attack with the greatest confidence. They were enabled, by the action of the Athenians, to bring their prows into direct collision with those of the enemy without any kind of evolutions. And now the superior weight, solidity, and strength of their own vessels told with destructive effect upon the more slenderly built Athenian craft, while on board their ships were a crowd of darters and archers, who slew many of the Athenians on the decks. So bold and adventurous had the Syracusans and their allies become that they rowed in small boats alongside or astern of their enemy's triremes and broke the rudders. The Athenians, after enduring severe loss, at length withdrew, exhausted and dispirited, behind their own palisades. They were closely pursued, but at the openings of their palisade the "dolphins" came into play, destroying two of the Syracusan ships and preventing the entrance of the others. It seemed, however, to the Athenians that all was now lost, for they had not only suffered a disastrous naval defeat, but were in danger of the army being starved into a surrender by the closing of the mouth of the harbour against all merchant vessels.

Their hopes were for a term again revived by the arrival of Demosthenes and Eurymedon, the new Athenian generals, who sailed into the Great Harbour on the very next day after this battle. They brought with them a magnificent armament, consisting of seventy-three ships of war, five thousand six hundred hoplites, a very large number of Greek and foreign spearmen, archers, and slingers, and supplies and

materials of every kind. The alarm of the Syracusans was great; they lost their previous confidence; the land force retired behind the walls and the fleet into the harbour. The Athenians, on the other hand, were again full of hope, and already saw themselves once more predominant on sea and land. Little could they foresee that by the coming of Demosthenes another mighty force from Athens was but marching to its doom!

Demosthenes, perhaps alone, saw the state of things in its true light. He saw that the army of Nicias was utterly demoralised by its long toil and its recent defeat, and that its strength was much wasted and weakened by the malaria of the swamp where it was encamped. He saw the Syracusan defence supported by numerous soldiers, protected by strong and extensive fortifications, and blessed above all with a leader of exceptional ability. Demosthenes was too well aware of the mischievous effects of Nicias' feeble, trifling, and vacillating conduct, which had brought a magnificent army and fleet to the brink of ruin, not to have resolved for his own part on a different course of action. He was determined that no one should ever reproach *him* with the faults of Nicias.

CHAPTER XX

ACTIVITY OF DEMOSTHENES

GYLIPPUS had already carried his counter-wall from the city over the hill of Epipolæ, till it reached the cliff to the north of the westerly point of that eminence at Euryelus. The position of the Athenians was to the south of that point, and they could not hinder the Syracusans communicating with the interior districts of the island. Against the Syracusan counter-wall that prevented access in that direction Demosthenes brought his siege machines, but without producing any great result. He then tried to pass round the wall through the valley of the river Anapus and by the western point of Epipolæ. The path by Euryelus was so steep and rugged that Demosthenes thought it could not be surmounted in daylight in the face of an enemy. He therefore proposed a night attack, to which his colleagues agreed. He took the command himself, with Menander and Eurymedon, while Nicias remained within the lines. They took with them a large force of hoplites and light-armed soldiers, besides masons and carpenters to build walls, and ordered that each man should carry with him provisions for five days.

The Athenians started at nightfall, climbed the heights of Epipolæ, and captured a fortified outpost of the Syracusans. But some of the garrison escaped

and warned the rest of the Syracusans, so that they were not unprepared. They boldly faced the attacking force, but were defeated, and fled. The Athenians pursued them, and began to pull down the counter-wall. Meantime Gylippus collected his whole force, and faced the Athenians.

At first the Syracusans, confused by the suddenness of the attack, began to give way, but were soon rallied. The pursuing Athenian hoplites, in the ardour of their onset, lost the regularity of their ranks; and when the Boeotian hoplites, in perfect order, met and attacked them, they broke and fled, after a short resistance. They fell back upon their comrades, who were coming on in their rear, and threw them into confusion. The whole Athenian army was then completely routed and disintegrated. There was no order, no cohesion; the commanders could not recognise their own men, the soldiers could not find their officers. The newly arrived men of Xenophon, entirely ignorant of the ground, wandered helplessly about in the fitful, uncertain light of the moon, and were cut to pieces by the numerous Syracusan cavalry. It was no longer a battle, but a fearful butchery, for the Syracusans gave no quarter and the Athenians no longer made any resistance. As both sides were Greeks, their signals were very much the same, and the Syracusans easily caught the watchwords of their foes; the "pæan" was raised from either side. The Athenians are said to have lost two thousand five hundred men; and alas! more shields than soldiers. At last the weary and dispirited remnant of the Athenian army took refuge behind their fortifications, which the Syracusans were not yet strong enough to storm.

But as Gylippus was bent on entirely destroying the Athenians, he again went the round of the Greek cities of Sicily, to raise additional forces. He sent fifteen triremes, under Sicanus, to Akragas (Agrigentum), where the two parties, who divided the population of every Greek town, were striving for

mastery. He hoped that, if his friends prevailed, they would give him material help in men and money.

While Gylippus was away there was a pause in the hostile operations at Syracuse. The Athenian generals had to realise the extent of their misfortune, and to discuss the plans for the future. They saw that their troops, dispirited and despairing, full of a sense of shame and dishonour, and wasted by marsh fever, could no longer be depended upon to meet their victorious foes in the field of battle. They must fly; but how? and whither? Demosthenes wisely proposed that they should return to Athens in their ships; as, for the moment, they were yet superior to the Syracusans on the sea. Eurymedon agreed with him; but Nicias, the evil genius of Athens, positively refused his consent. He said that the secret of a formal resolution to withdraw could not be kept, and the enemy would find means to thwart their purpose. But what most heavily weighed upon him was his fear of the Assembly at Athens. What would they say there? Who could persuade them that two of the greatest armaments ever sent forth from a Grecian city, composed of the very flower of Athenian manhood, the flower of the human race, could be beaten and disgraced before the whole world, except by the folly, the utter incapacity, and perhaps the corruption of its commanders? For his own part, he said, he would rather risk the horrors of the war at Syracuse than appear as a criminal before the Athenian Assembly, lashed into fury by the favourite orators of the mob. He therefore advised them to remain where they were, and to carry on the siege, as best they could.

Demosthenes and Eurymedon, as sensible men, strongly opposed the proposals of Nicias. At any rate, they said, they ought to quit the Great Harbour, in which, for want of room, they were unable to avail themselves of their superior seamanship. They should remove their camp and fleet to Thapsus or to Catana.

But even to this very moderate demand the benighted Nicias refused his consent; and as he was supported, probably, by two other generals, Menander and Euthydemus, he obtained the majority of votes in the council of war. And thus another chance of a safe retreat for the Athenians was thrown away; and the doomed fleet remained, idle and discontented, in the Great Harbour of Syracuse.

Gylippus, though he failed in the object of his visit to Akragas (Agrigentum), now brought a large additional force from other Sicilian towns, and some hoplites came from the Peloponnesus. This increase of the Syracusan army immediately became known to the Athenians. Demosthenes and Eurymedon renewed their urgent appeals to Nicias; and he at last gave way, consenting to a secret retreat, but without any formal resolution. Orders were sent to Catana to prepare for their arrival, and to stop the supplies which the Catanians had been accustomed to send to the Athenian camp at Syracuse.

This plan was being successfully carried out, and without attracting the notice of the Syracusans, when the Gods themselves interposed to forbid their departure. On the 27th of August, 413 B.C., at ten o'clock p.m., an eclipse of the full moon took place, which fearfully alarmed the common soldiers; and Nicias himself was not less superstitious. He, as usual, consulted the interpreters of omens; who in reply declared that the question of departure must not even be mooted for a period of thrice nine days, *i.e.* during a full circuit of the moon. Thus, by the decision of the soothsayers, and the blind imprudence of the general in chief command, the fate of the whole Athenian army was sealed. It is curious, however, that this interpretation of the significance of the eclipse was called in question by another competent diviner, Philochorus; who said that "in any enterprise requiring secrecy, an eclipse diminishing the light of the moon was to be considered rather favourable"

than otherwise. It is also remarked that Nicias had lost the services of the best of his soothsayers by the death of Stilbides; and that those who gave the fatal answer were inferior men.

But the Syracusans soon heard of the Athenians' intention to steal away secretly, under cover of night. They saw in it a confession of utter defeat and hopeless dejection. They now prepared, on their own side, for the final struggle, determined to crush the Athenian fleet in the harbour, and not allow it to go to any other part of Sicily. For this end they blocked up the entrance to the harbour, which was not much more than a thousand yards wide, with a line of vessels of various classes and kinds, anchored and chained together. Gylippus manned his triremes, and drilled their crews for three days in warlike exercises and sham fights; he also drew up his land force and made a military demonstration of no actual importance. But on the next day he ordered the whole fleet, mustering seventy-six triremes, to sail up close to the station of the Athenian fleet, and to offer battle.

The Athenians had no choice but to accept this challenge to fight. Their only chance of gaining safety lay in a decided naval victory. The generals held a council of war, to which even the subordinate officers, the "taxiarchs," were admitted; when it was resolved to meet the enemy, since there was no alternative course. Nicias, who was after all a brave man, appears in the most favourable light when he mustered the naval officers on the shore, and addressed them with a moving appeal and pathetic entreaty, imploring each and all, "by their fathers' names, by the honour of their families and their tribes, to act valiantly in this conflict, worthily of the long renown of their ancestors, and of Athens, their glorious city; and to think of their wives and children in that city, whose future fate would depend upon their conduct in the present battle."

The Athenian fleet then sallied forth and the

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desperate engagement began. But its results produced a belief that the Gods had withdrawn their favours from the Athenian cause. First, the centre of their line of battleships was broken through; and next, the right wing, commanded by Eurymedon, was driven ashore, and Eurymedon himself was slain. Gylippus then marched his troops down to the shore in order to cut off the crews which landed from the defeated squadron, and to secure the capture of their vessels.

But at this juncture there seemed to be a momentary change in the fortunes of the conflict. The men brought down from the camp by Gylippus rushed to the water's edge with such haste and impetuosity that they fell into some disorder; upon which, the Tyrhenians who were on guard at the Athenian naval station sallied out to attack them, and drove them into the swamp called Lysimeleia. On both sides, numbers of men of the two armies came to help their comrades, and a general battle took place, in which the Athenians had the advantage. This partial success on land saved many triremes from being immediately destroyed when they were driven ashore. But even so, the defeat of the Athenian fleet on the water was almost complete. None of their ships could force a passage out of the Great Harbour through the barrier across its opening to the sea; on the contrary, they were all pushed back, disabled or wrecked, in a narrow space adjacent to the Athenian naval station, where the Syracusans attempted to destroy them by fire-ships, but without success. Never, perhaps, did a conflict take place of a character more remarkable or indeed unique, than here, nearly two hundred vessels being crowded together within the comparatively small space of the harbour, so that most of them were unable even to move without collision either with a friend or an enemy. The occupation of the steersmen was gone; ship touched ship; and on either side the fight was waged by the crowds of soldiers and sailors

upon the decks, with spears and javelins and stones. The din was so terrible that the words of command could hardly be heard amidst the triumphant shouts of the victors, the wailing of the wounded, and the reproachful cries of the captains to those whom they saw shrinking from the deadly struggle. Women and children of the city lined the shore, the walls, and the roofs of the houses, mad with excitement; and the Syracusan troops of the land force looked on in a state of intense agitation. The defeat of the Athenians was almost complete; they lost eighteen triremes, all the crews of which were slain, and all hope of a retreat by sea was annihilated. They gave themselves up to the wildest despair, and, in their utter dejection and self-abandonment, did not even ask for their dead, but impiously left them to the hideous fate which awaited the unburied.

Demosthenes, with his admirable courage, proposed to fight another battle by sea, for which, he thought, they still had ships enough, and Nicias consented. But the spirit of the sailors was so utterly broken that they positively refused to embark again or to fight. So their once glorious fleet was abandoned to the enemy, and no alternative was left but to depart by land, if possible, the same night.

Hermocrates, easily divining their intentions, gave orders to the whole Syracusan army to turn out and to hinder their retreat. To this all the generals and other officers readily agreed; but the Syracusans, who were weary of fighting and hardships, were so transported with the delirious joy of victory that they thought of nothing but giving themselves up to the jovial excesses of the feast of Hercules, to whom the day was sacred. Amidst feasting and revelry they would listen to no commands which interfered with their wild triumph and carnival of pleasure. Hermocrates, seeing how they disregarded all his representations and fearing that the still numerous army of Athenians might establish themselves in some other

part of Sicily, urged Gylippus to send troops to block the roads and passes by which the Athenians would probably retreat. But the generals told him that with the men in their present state of excitement this plan could not be carried out. He then devised a stratagem, similar to that which the Athenians had once successfully practised on the Syracusans. At nightfall he sent some horsemen to the Athenian wall, where they called for the sentries, and addressed them as messengers of the Athenian party in Syracuse, with whom Nicias had frequently negotiated. They warned them that all the passes were blocked, and advised them not to start till next morning. Nicias, who was easily deluded by his supposed friends in Syracuse, fell into the snare, and the march was postponed. The Athenians stayed not only one night, but two, and then began the fatal march.

CHAPTER XXI

DESERTION OF DEAD AND WOUNDED

THUCYDIDES has described, in pathetic terms, the miserable scene at the departure of the wretched Athenian army. They looked with bitter feelings of remorse on the unburied corpses of their comrades, to which they had failed to pay the last sacred rites. They listened, in the extremity of woe, to the cries of despair and bitter wailing of their wounded friends, whom they must leave behind—who clung to their knees in agony, beseeching them by their reverence for the Gods, by all the ties of kinship and nationality, not to desert them, not to leave them in the hands of a pitiless enemy! But entreaties and lamentations were in vain.

The generals did their duty. Nicias especially; he who in prosperous circumstances had been so unready, so unenterprising, so wavering and vacillating, now showed a spirit little short of heroic. No one suffered more than he, the chief commander, who now stood before his army, his city, and the whole of Greece, as disgraced by his failure—as responsible not only for the loss of two mighty fleets and armies, but for the ruin of proud Athens herself. And at a time when not only courage, but bodily health and strength were required, he was a martyr to a painful and incurable disease, which had long preyed upon him and

embittered his life. Yet he was not crushed by the heavy load of misfortune, dishonour, and suffering now cast upon him; he was rather transformed into something nobler than he had ever appeared before. He was to be seen everywhere among his men, organising their ranks, sympathising with them, consoling, encouraging them; and he addressed them in a clear, loud voice, with a power he had never yet shown.

"Be of good cheer, Athenians, even now! Others have been saved from perils greater than ours. I, who have been all my life accustomed to greater good fortune and comfort than any of you, am now no better off than the humblest man among you. Nay, disease has so sapped my strength that I am even less able than you to endure the labours and perils of the march. But I have always paid due honour to the Gods; and now I hope that if any God has been jealous of the splendour of our start from Athens, he will consider that we have been sufficiently punished, abate his wrath, and deal with us more gently! Truly we are now more fitting objects of compassion than of envy or wrath! I see before me soldiers, numerous and brave. Wherever you settle, you will form a city; and there is no other town in Sicily which can resist you, or that can prevent your settling wherever you choose. Keep, then, to your ranks, firm and orderly; and wherever you may have to fight, regard that spot as your country, which must be defended by victorious effort. As soon as we reach any village of the Sicels, whom we have warned of our approach, we shall be in safety. From their hatred to the Syracusans, they will receive us and supply us with provisions. But, remember that if you falter now, there is no other refuge for you. Your only chance of safety lies in your own brave hearts and skilful hands! As for you who are not Athenians, you also may soon enjoy the sight of your own homes; and you, Athenians! may yet live to

renew the glories of your city, Athens! For it is men that make a city, not its walls and ships.”¹

The Athenian army, “quantum mutatus ab illo”! then marched from Syracuse, still numbering in all some forty thousand. They marched not to Catana, the way to which was blocked, but to the west or the south-west, hoping to reach some Sicel town, particularly Motyce or Hybla Heræa. They left everything behind them, doubtful whether they could even save their own lives. They had no waggons, and but few porters, so that the fighting men were hampered on the march by having to carry the necessary food, and even water, as well as their arms. The sick and wounded followed till they dropped, and their stronger comrades were then obliged to leave them to their bitter enemies. The van was commanded by Nicias; the rear-guard by Demosthenes, who could now approve of his chief's conduct. They marched by the left bank of the Anapus to the ford, which they found guarded by a detachment of the enemy; but they forced a passage without much difficulty. As they had no cavalry they were greatly harassed and impeded by a swarm of the enemy's horsemen; and they also suffered much from heat and thirst.

In the evening they encamped on a hill to the east of the present town of Floridia. They had marched on this day only forty stadia, not quite five miles. The next day was even worse; they marched twenty stadia, and then encamped at a village in the plain, where they found some provisions and water. Their nearest object was the Acræan cliff, which, as the direction of their march was now evident, was strongly occupied by the enemy. The road here ascended by a high hill, flanked on either side by steep cliffs, which is now called “Cava di Colabrello.” Here the Syracusans had built a barricade across the road, and had taken possession of the high ground on both sides, from which they showered down darts and

¹ Grote's *History of Greece*.

arrows upon the luckless Athenians, while they kept up incessant attacks upon their rear-guard and flanks. Completely circumvented, the Athenians could not even enter the ravine, and were compelled to retreat to the camping-ground of the preceding night.

Early on the following morning they made another desperate attempt to reach the Acræan cliff; but the way was still blocked, and they suffered so much from the missiles of the Syracusan light troops that they could only proceed a single mile from their camp. Weary, and faint from want of food, and encumbered by the wounded, they could make no impression on the enemy's hoplites, drawn up in deep ranks to stop their progress. A fearful storm, which broke over their heads, added greatly to their terror, for they saw in it the anger of the Gods, who had deserted them. Other entrenchments were rapidly rising around them, and in despair they again withdrew to the plain.

When the Syracusans had retired for the night, Nicias took counsel with the generals, and they agreed that it was now impossible to force their way over the Acræan cliff into the country of the Sicels; they resolved, therefore, to march during the night towards the south coast, where lay the towns of Gela and Camarina. They broke up in confusion in the night, and only the front division under Nicias got into marching order and made some progress. At daybreak they reached the south-east coast of the island and struck into the Helorine road, which they followed until they came to the river Cacyparis. Even here they found the enemy blocking the ford, and as they could not force the passage they marched straight on to the river Erineus, which they crossed, and encamped upon high ground on the other side. Except at the Cacyparis, their day's march had, so far, been unobstructed by the enemy.

Meantime, Demosthenes, with the larger part of the troops, had started later, and in far worse order. They

were full of terror lest the enemy should overtake them; they suffered from frequent panics, lost their way in the dark, and fell far into the rear of the division led by Nicias. During the forenoon of this day, even before they had reached the Cacyparis, where they were nearly six miles from Nicias, they were overtaken by the Syracusans, who immediately attacked them, not at close quarters, but at a distance, with bows and arrows.

The road lay by a walled garden of olives, named after Polyzelus, brother of Gelon, into which the Athenians rushed as into a place of safety; but they found themselves entrapped within four walls, the exit from which was blocked by the enemy. Showers of missiles were poured upon their crowded mass from the walls on every side. Huddled together in the narrow enclosure they could not make use of their arms, or fight against a foe beyond their reach, and whom they could not even see. They were held there for the greater part of the day, with ever-increasing numbers of their comrades falling around them, until those who survived gave way to despair and yielded.

Gylippus sent a herald with a message to the Sicilians who accompanied Demosthenes' division of the army, promising them their freedom if they would surrender. Only a few of them came out, but the whole force, to the number of six thousand, capitulated, giving up their arms upon these terms: that they should not be put to death by violence, or thrown into chains, or be deprived of food and drink; they were all disarmed and sent as prisoners to Syracuse. To the astonishment of their captors, money enough to fill the hollows of four shields was found in the possession of the prisoners. Demosthenes, their general, refusing to surrender, was about to fall upon his own sword, but was seized, disarmed, and sent with the rest a prisoner, making no terms for himself.

While the Syracusans were thus occupied, Nicias and his division were making progress; they crossed the Erineus and ought to have followed its course upward, but they did not, we do not know why, unless it were that they were so much exhausted that they could neither act nor think. Nicias tried, indeed, to get to the Asinarus, south of the Erineus—a larger river, flowing between lofty banks; and he accomplished this movement. But on the seventh day he was overtaken by the Syracusans and was informed of the surrender of Demosthenes and his division. The Syracusan cavalry, having got the start of Nicias, were already before him at the Asinarus, occupying the ford and the banks of the river. Then the Athenians broke their ranks and rushed into the river to quench the intolerable thirst by which they were tormented, being utterly reckless of all other dangers and sufferings. Then ensued a mad struggle for the first draught of the muddy, blood-stained water. The ford was soon heaped up with slain and wounded men, as the Syracusan horsemen rode into the river slaughtering the helpless unresisting crowd.

At first Nicias refused to believe in the surrender of Demosthenes, and demanded proofs. He was allowed to send messengers to the scene of the disaster, who of course brought back word that the worst was true.

Nicias now saw that all further resistance was useless; but he at first refused the terms on which Demosthenes had capitulated, and asked that the Athenians in the army should be allowed to go home; he proposed that Athens should pay the costs of the war, and leave a hostage for every talent. These conditions were rejected by Gylippus; and the Syracusans renewed the attack. Nicias attempted in the night to retreat secretly; but the enemy were on the watch, and raised the "pæan" when they saw the Athenians about to move. Then even Nicias perceived

the impossibility of doing more, and surrendered at discretion.

Forty thousand men had left the Athenian camp at Syracuse about a week before. Seven thousand remained—six thousand with Demosthenes and one thousand with Nicias! A few of their cavalry had escaped to Catana; but their leader had thought it shameful to desert his comrades, and, after securing the safety of his troop, had galloped back, fought, and fallen.

Such was the tragic end of the two great expeditions, consisting, together, of two hundred ships of war and sixty thousand soldiers and sailors. Not a ship was saved, and only a very few of the wretched men who had left the Piræus full of vigour, hope, and pride. History affords few examples of so lamentable a reverse of fortune.

The greater number of the captives were seized by private persons, and either sold or used for their own profit; the State of Syracuse obtained only about a thousand captives. Gylippus would have saved the two generals; but the Syracusans, and especially the traitors who had negotiated with Nicias, insisted on his execution. The Corinthians, too, urged that his great wealth would certainly enable him to escape. Hermocrates also tried hard to save him, and when he failed sent to both generals the means of committing suicide in their prison.

The great mass of the prisoners were confined at Syracuse in the well-known quarries excavated from the rock, with precipitous sides, and open to the sky. Here they were exposed by day to the fierce and choking heat of a Sicilian sun, and to the equally intolerable chill of the autumn nights. The Syracusans were mean enough to crown their miseries by semi-starvation; each man received only two "cotyles" (one pint) of corn and one cotyle of water—half the daily ration of a slave, and a quarter of what the Athenians had allowed to the Spartan

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prisoners in Sphacteria. Many of the sick and wounded, happily for themselves, died at once; and the Syracusans did not even take the trouble to remove the corpses. There was no place of retirement for natural wants; and the heat and intolerable stench increased day by day until plague set in. In this condition they were left for seventy days, during which the Syracusans—men, and women, and children—went to gaze at them, like so many caged wild beasts, and to gloat over the sufferings of their fallen enemies.

At last the Syracusans, fearing that the pestilence might spread to themselves, sold the survivors as private slaves, except the Athenians, the Italiots, and the Siceliots, who were left in the quarries for six months longer. All the slaves were branded with the figure of a horse on the forehead. Some of them, who were sold to humane masters, were well treated in Syracusan families, on whom their superior intelligence and refinement could not but have a favourable effect. It is said that many of these, who could chant, with their pure Attic accent, the favourite choruses of Euripides, of whose poetry the Sicilian Greeks were extremely fond, were set free, and were allowed to return to Athens, where they greeted the divine poet as their saviour.

Great, as was natural, was the triumph, the joy, the jubilation of the Syracusans. They had secured the independence of their city and of all Sicily; they had beaten and utterly destroyed the greatest sea-power on its own element; and had attained the proud position of pre-eminence not only in Sicily, but in the whole Hellenic world. This would not and could not have been done without Gylippus; and, alas! not without Nicias! But their triumph was complete, and in their joy they hung the armour of the fallen Athenians on the trees along the banks of the Asinarus, and appointed an annual feast between the 15th and 20th of September, with the name of that river, to commemorate the event.

The Athenians at home considered that no news was bad news. A full month passed with them in a state of suspense, for they had only heard of a dispute between Demosthenes and Nicias—the former urging the necessity for a retreat, the latter refusing to adopt that wise course. But the news of the utter destruction of their fleets and armies was made known in Athens, not by direct intelligence from the seat of war, but indirectly from the despatches sent to Sparta and Corinth, and from the few soldiers who escaped imprisonment or massacre in Syracuse.

According to Plutarch's doubtful tale, the first news of the final disaster became known through a stranger, who, on his arrival at the Piræus, went into a barber's shop and began to talk of the calamity as a thing well known in Athens. The astounded barber ran to Athens to inform the archons, and the public in the market-place, of the fearful news. He was brought before an assembly hastily convoked, and called upon to produce his authority, which he could not do, as the stranger was nowhere to be found; he was therefore looked upon as a deceiver, and was even put to the torture. But soon his news was confirmed by soldiers who had escaped and found a passage home.

We shall not attempt to describe the consternation and terror that now reigned in Athens! With an empty treasury, docks without ships, and no army, what could the Athenians look for but swift destruction by their Dorian enemies, greatly strengthened by the new Sicilian allies? But, after the first natural burst of private sorrow and public despair, they looked their misfortune in the face and set themselves manfully to retrieve their position.

The extraordinary loyalty with which the Athenians had adhered to Nicias, in spite of his blunders and his failures, was changed, after his death, to violent anger and bitter contempt. No public notice was taken of him, while the name of Demosthenes was engraved on a marble pillar. The reason for this marked difference

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was no doubt the fact that Nicias had surrendered voluntarily, while Demosthenes had sought to die by his own hand rather than yield.

It is strange to find that Thucydides takes an exactly opposite view. He says nothing of Demosthenes beyond the fact of his death, while of Nicias he speaks with praise and sympathy, as least of all deserving so terrible a fate, considering his faithful performance of his duty to the Gods!

CHAPTER XXII

CONTEST BETWEEN ATHENS AND SYRACUSE

THE contest between Athens and Syracuse was not yet ended, but was transferred to Asia Minor and the Islands. We shall not go at any length into the history of this warfare, in which Alcibiades played an active part against his own country.

The Athenians had a turn of good luck against the Syracusan fleet near Methymna, and captured four ships. On one of these was a cousin of Alcibiades, of the same name; for which involuntary offence the Athenian captain had him stoned. The other prisoners were sent to Athens, and were there confined in the quarries of the Piræus. They are said to have dug themselves out of their dungeon, and to have escaped to Megara and Deceleia. Five Sicilian ships took part in the recovery of Pylos, but were then recalled, being wanted at home.

Syracuse had emerged triumphant from the contest with Athens, but at what a cost! Her finances were ruined, her city and territory devastated; the best of her citizens were either slain in battle or carried off by disease. Only a long period of repose, under a wise and energetic government, could have restored her to the signal prosperity which she had enjoyed before the Athenian invasion. We know how rapidly Athens recovered after her wars with Persia, because from

413 B.C. she was left for a time in peace; and no doubt Syracuse would have flourished again in commerce, science, and art, if the gods had granted her a similar respite; but this was not to be. We may say, on the whole, that the Chalcidians of Sicily did but little to aid Syracuse in her desperate struggle, in which she so nearly perished. The powerful city of Akragas (Agrigentum) remained neutral; and the nominal allies of Syracuse—Gela, Camarina, Himera, and even Selinus—left her to bear almost the whole burthen of the war.

The allies, and especially Gylippus, on their return to Greece were greeted with distinguished honours and magnificent presents; and yet, the native tendency to suspicion and censure, the love of satire and ridicule, could not spare the man to whom they owed so infinitely much. Some accused him of greed and avarice; others reminded the fickle Syracusans of the ridiculous figure he had cut on his first arrival, in his short Spartan mantle and with his long hair; others, again, resented his severe discipline, which was in fact their salvation. Of course the temples of the favouring Gods were magnificently adorned with the choicest portion of the booty, and due rewards and honours were awarded to those who had distinguished themselves in battle.

The Syracusans then took measures to strengthen the democratic constitution. They appointed a committee to review and improve the laws, of which Diocles was the chief, a man who had won great fame by his conduct in the war. We know nothing of the laws themselves; we only know that the public officers were appointed by lot, but not all of them; that they were very zealous and strict in the performance of their duties, and showed great knowledge of human nature and love of justice. At his death an altar was erected to Diocles as a hero, which shows the value set on his services by his fellow-citizens. The changes for the better, however, involved the banishment of

Hermocrates. The feud between Syracuse and the Chalcidian towns, Catana and Naxos, was revived after the termination of the Athenian war, but with no important consequences.

But now all hopes of future progress and prosperity in Sicily were dashed, and all the petty quarrels of the towns were silenced and drowned by the overwhelming tide of the Carthaginian invasion. The immediate cause of the appearance of this new and more terrible enemy was again the old dispute between two Sicilian towns, Selinus and Segesta; the former had claimed some debatable territory which Segesta, fearing the vengeance of the Dorians for having brought on the Athenian invasion, gave up to Selinus. But the Selinuntines, not satisfied with gaining the lands to which they had a certain claim, proceeded to devastate some border land which certainly belonged to Segesta. The latter saw that she must fight; and as Selinus was sure of help from Syracuse, Segesta appealed to Carthage.

After their disastrous defeat at Himera in 480 B.C., related in an earlier chapter, the Carthaginians for a long time took no part in the domestic affairs of Sicily. They had no wish to enter on a war with Syracuse, strong in prestige and in alliance with powerful Greek states. But, on the other hand, they knew that Syracuse was now materially enfeebled by her war with Athens; and they thought it unwise to let her, with her marvellous elasticity, recover in peace from her present exhaustion. Again, how could they allow Segesta, that town of kindred Semites, the Elymi, which lay behind Motye and Panormus, the two Phœnician capitals, to fall into the hands of the Greeks? If Segesta became Greek those two important towns connected with Carthage could only communicate with each other by sea. And Segesta, unless Carthage helped her, must soon fall a prey to Selinus and Syracuse.

The Carthaginians, therefore, had the strongest

motives for taking up the cause of the kindred city and prosecuting the war with all their power. The position of affairs in Carthage was peculiarly favourable to Segesta. The rich merchants who formed the strength of the peace party had long had the upper hand; but now the mighty house of Magon was in the ascendant, with Hannibal, its hereditary representative, the chief of the two ruling "Suffetes," at the head of the state. His influence prevailed on the senate to obtain a favourable answer for the envoys of Segesta. They were assured that efficient aid would be sent, under the command of Hannibal himself; a momentous decision, fatal to the freedom and prosperity of Sicily, and ultimately to that of Carthage.

Hannibal, besides the love of war natural to a great general, had the strongest private and personal reasons for wishing for it. It was his grandfather, Hamilcar, who had suffered the ruinous defeat at Himera, and had lost his life in the battle. Hannibal burned with desire to wipe away that stain on his family honour, and to take a terrible vengeance for his grandfather's disgrace and death.

Both the Segestans and the Carthaginians, however, were anxious to prevent Syracuse from joining with Selinus against them. Envoys were sent by Hannibal from Segesta to Syracuse, offering to leave to the Syracusans the settling of the dispute between Selinus and Segesta. The Syracusans were highly flattered, but returned the vague, unmeaning answer that the alliance with Segesta and the peace with Carthage should be upheld as before.

In the first year, 410 B.C., the Carthaginians only sent a small force of five thousand Libyans and eight hundred Campanian recruits to Segesta; which failed to produce much effect, and the Selinuntines continued their ravages on Segestan territory. These plundering expeditions were at first carried on systematically and successfully; but, meeting with little resistance, they fell into disorder, and wandered through the country

in separate bands. The Segestans were on the watch, and, seeing their opportunity, inflicted a severe defeat on the Selinuntines, slaying a thousand of their men and capturing much booty. The Syracusans then promised to help Selinus in taking revenge for this unexpected defeat—little knowing the seriousness of the situation!

In Carthage, meanwhile, vast preparations were being made for the campaign of the ensuing spring. Hannibal enrolled a large number of Carthaginian citizens, engaged mercenaries from Spain, chose the best soldiers of the subject states, and demanded ships from the seaport towns of Africa. In the spring, 409 B.C., all was ready for a descent on Sicily. Hannibal was now in command of sixty triremes, fifteen hundred ships of burthen, and an army estimated by Ephorus at 200,000, by Timæus at 100,000 men, including four thousand cavalry, and provided with battering-rams and other siege machines. With this overwhelming force he sailed straight to Lilybæum, the western cape of Sicily.

The Selinuntines, thunderstruck by the imposing magnitude of the Carthaginian armament, despatched swift messengers to Syracuse to ask for the promised aid. Their walls, sufficiently strong perhaps to defend them from their Sicilian neighbours, were quite inadequate for resisting the rams and other engines of the Carthaginians. Hannibal was no Nicias; he lost no time by inaction, but marched straight from Lilybæum to Selinus, having pitched his camp in the bay of Motye, where he was joined by ships and troops from Segesta and by other allies. On his way he crossed the river Mazara, captured a border fort of the Selinuntines of the same name, and in an incredibly short time stood before the doomed city of Selinus.

He made his chief attack on the north side, where the walls could most easily be approached. There he brought up his battering-rams and a number of towers higher than the walls, and filled with archers and

slingers who drove the garrison from their battlements. Notwithstanding the hopeless nature of the contest, the Selinuntines, knowing that no terms would be granted and no quarter given, made a most vigorous and heroic resistance. Hannibal saw that he must hasten his operations before the arrival of external help from other towns, and he therefore promised his troops the whole plunder of the enormously wealthy city.

Yet, for nine successive days, the assailants were repulsed with heavy loss. For nine long days men, women, and even children crowded the walls, and, by superhuman efforts, showed themselves worthy of their Grecian name and race. Day after day the assailants came on with loud war-cries and barbarous music, and day after day they were hurled back with terrific loss. But fresh troops of the enemy were always ready to take the place of their fallen comrades and to renew the attack, while the ranks of the defenders grew daily thinner, and not a single man came to their aid from their lukewarm allies—from Akragas, Gela, and Syracuse.

On the tenth day a part of the wall was thrown down by the rams, and the Campanian mercenary troops rushed through the breach. Yet, with unabated though hopeless courage, the noble defenders continued the struggle, barricading the narrow streets and hurling weapons and stones from the roofs of their houses. With anxious wistful eyes they looked towards the east, from which no help was coming, and continued, till the evening, to fight—with the energy of despair! The Carthaginian army flooded the whole city and drove the miserable remnant of its inhabitants into the market-place, where they were butchered as they stood, unarmed,

Resistance being impossible, the barbarian host pervaded the city, inspired by lust and the desire of plunder. The fate of a city taken by storm and given up to a licentious soldiery is always horrible enough ;

but the savage fury of the mingled horde that now raged through Selinus was shown by acts of fiendish cruelty, not only by slaughtering but mutilating men, women and children, and outraging the bodies of the dead. Many of them were seen ostentatiously wearing a girdle adorned with amputated human hands, or proudly carrying heads affixed to their spears and javelins. Sixteen thousand Selinuntines are said to have been slain, five thousand taken captive, and two thousand six hundred, amongst whom was Empedion, escaped to Akragas; but we have no details upon which we can rely. Some reached Akragas just after the final catastrophe, and the generals sent envoys to Hannibal begging him to take a ransom for the captives, and to spare the temples. The answer was harsh and decided: "Those who were unable to defend their lives must suffer slavery; and as for the temples, the Gods had manifestly deserted them." A second embassy conducted by Empedion, a friend of Carthage, obtained more favourable hearing. Hannibal gave him back all his property, set free all his relatives, and said that the surviving Selinuntines might return to their city, as tributary subjects of Carthage. But he caused the walls to be pulled down and the temples and houses to be destroyed.

Hannibal then turned his attention to Himera, to which he felt a burning hatred, as the scene of his grandfather's defeat and death. His army was flushed with victory and enriched with plunder. He crossed the island to the north coast, and on the march was joined by a large number of Sicans and Sicels, eager for plunder and glad of an opportunity to take vengeance on the Greek intruders into their native island. With these allies, who mustered twenty thousand, he marched to Himera, and pitched his camp on high ground, where he left ten thousand men as a guard; with the rest of his army he fiercely attacked the town. As at Selinus, he pushed up his battering-rams and wooden towers close to the walls, which he

also tried to undermine. In this he succeeded at one part, and the wall fell in; but when the Carthaginians rushed through the breach they were met by the Himeraans, and by four thousand Syracusans and other allies, under Diocles, with such resolute vigour that they fell back in great confusion, losing six thousand of their men. One historian says they lost twenty thousand!

The besieged Himeraans, elated by this success and over-confident, now took the fatal resolve to assume the offensive, and ten thousand gallant men, including Syracusans and other Greek allies, pursued the flying Carthaginians to the hill upon which Hannibal had taken post with his reserve forces. In the hurry of this pursuit the Greeks fell into disorder, and Hannibal, issuing from his camp, inflicted a complete defeat upon them, slaying three thousand of their bravest men, who disdained to flee or to surrender.

At this terrible crisis of the battle a Syracusan fleet of twenty-five triremes entered the port of Himera, and the inhabitants, recovering from their despair, began again to hope; but this hope was of brief duration. The Carthaginians had spread a report that their sailors at Motye were embarking to sail to attack Syracuse while she was denuded of her best troops and ships. Diocles, in command of the Syracusan forces at Himera, hereupon declared that it was his duty to march home with his troops, and he advised the admiral of the fleet likewise to sail to Syracuse without delay to defend their own city.

The Himeraans, with piteous lamentations and tears, besought Diocles and the captains of the fleet not to leave them to the fate of Selinus. In vain! duty, they said, compelled them to go home. Diocles advised the Himeraans to abandon their city, and the commanders of the fleet agreed to take as many as they could to some point on the coast, from which they could get to Messana by land. Of course it was

the more helpless part of the population—the women, children, and old men—who were first to be thus saved. The best of the Himeræans remained in the city, and awaited the return of the triremes. They passed the night on the walls, and at the break of day saw the triumphant Carthaginians renewing the assault. Just as the returning Syracusan ships appeared in sight the Iberians—the rams having broken down part of the fortifications—rushed into the city, easily overpowering the feeble resistance of its now diminished and utterly exhausted defenders.

Then began the horrible carnage in which Carthaginians delighted, but it was soon stopped by Hannibal, mindful of the money value of slaves, while he put no check on the plunder.

The temples, which “the Gods had evidently deserted,” were stripped of their treasures and then burnt; and the houses were razed to the ground.

The captives were divided into two portions, the women and children and the men. The former were either distributed as prizes among the soldiers or sent to Africa, to be sold as slaves. But the men, numbering three thousand, were led to the very spot where Hamilcar had fallen, and were there mercilessly butchered in cold blood.

And thus was the long, deep thirst of vengeance in the soul of Hannibal quenched in the blood of innocent victims, and the tarnished honour of his family thus gloriously expiated! As a last expression of his detestation he abolished the name of Himera, and called the new town “Thermæ,” from some warm springs in the neighbourhood.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE FATE OF HERMOCRATES

HANNIBAL, who was now an old man, did not attack Syracuse, as it was expected he would, but rested satisfied with his rapid success against Selinus and Himera and with the awful punishment he had inflicted on the hated city—and he dismissed his Sicilian allies. The Campanians, who had greatly distinguished themselves, were dissatisfied with what they considered the scanty reward of their services, and withdrew in anger. He left garrisons in the conquered cities, and sailed back to Carthage, where he was received with all due honours.

From this time a change took place in the relations between Carthage and Sicily, for there was now an extensive Carthaginian province in the island, and the hitherto independent Phœnician cities became subject to Carthage. Motye, for instance, was now called a colony of Carthage, which it was not. This change is marked by the fact that the autonomous coinage of Motye and Panormus gave place to a Siculo-Carthaginian coinage, which followed the types of that of Syracuse. The Sicans and Sicels, too, joined Carthage, because they hoped through her to regain the autonomy of which the Greeks had robbed them.

Syracuse, though spared the expected invasion by the Carthaginians, was torn by intestine discord, which

in the sequel proved fatal to her liberty. Hermocrates and two colleagues had commanded the Syracusan contingent in the Peloponnesian fleet, under Mindarus, in Asia. After the terrible defeat at Cyzicus, in which Mindarus himself was slain, and every ship of the fleet, including those of the Syracusans, was captured or destroyed, Hermocrates and his two colleagues were sentenced to banishment. The Syracusans were then under the influence of Diocles; but Hermocrates was exceedingly popular with the trierarchs of the Syracusan fleet, who would even have supported him in refusing obedience to the decree of deposition and exile. But he earnestly begged them not to join in any seditious action against their government, and took an affectionate farewell of his supporters. Yet even he showed how lukewarm was his Hellenic patriotism and his antipathy to the barbarian enemies of Greece. On the arrival of his successors in the command he went to the Persian satrap, Pharnabazus, who received him with great favour, and presented him with a large sum of money. With this he went to Messana (in 408 B.C.) and built five ships of war; he also levied a land force of one thousand men, and he was joined by a thousand Himeræan exiles. His chief aim was to be recalled from exile by the Syracusans and to be reinstated in his command of the army.

Existing circumstances were favourable to his adventure; Hannibal had left Sicily and dispersed his army. Diocles, the rival of Hermocrates in Syracuse, had been proved a failure. Then Hermocrates went first to the ruined city of Selinus, where he restored the walls of its Acropolis, and encouraged the surviving exiles to return to their old home. Then, with six thousand men, he invaded the Punic territory of Motye, and routed its opposing army. This vigorous action—restoring a Greek city and carrying war into the enemy's country—was greatly to his credit in the eyes of the Hellenes; but Syracuse did not recall him. However, these events excited such admiration in

Syracuse that the party of Hermocrates was much strengthened, while Diocles fell into disfavour.

Hermocrates, learning that now the tide of public opinion was turning in his favour, took new measures to secure his restoration. He marched from Selinus to Himera, and was there led to the spot where Hannibal had murderously slaughtered the defeated Greeks. He collected the unburied bones of the Syracusans, placed them on decorated waggons, and marched with his army from Himera across the island to the gates of Syracuse. There he halted, and sent in some of his friends with the bones into the city, offering them to the citizens for burial.

Syracuse was fearfully agitated by this appeal to her patriotic sentiment. The aristocratic party demanded the immediate reception of the remains of those slain at Himera and a solemn interment. Diocles opposed them, asking how was it possible to recognise Syracusan bones and to distinguish them from the others? Yet the partisans of Hermocrates so far prevailed on the feelings of the citizens that they passed a vote of banishment against Diocles. Even now they could not persuade the assembly to reinstate Hermocrates, who therefore retired, as he could not *force* an entrance into Syracuse.

His partisans, nevertheless, determined to make another attempt to reinstate their leader, having acquired new strength from the reception of the bones and their solemn public interment, as well as from the banishment of Diocles. Upon a later occasion Hermocrates, at their suggestion, started from Selinus with three thousand men, but, from the rapidity of his march, the greater part of his force was left behind, and he arrived at the gates of Syracuse with very few men. His friends expected him, but could do nothing with so small a force to support them. The alarm was sounded; the citizens ran to arms, cut down the little band of invaders, and slew Hermocrates himself.

In him Sicily sustained a heavy loss, for he was a brave, honest, and resourceful man, a true patriot, devoted body and soul to the interests of his city and his race. Without him, Syracuse would hardly have come off victorious in her fearful struggle with the mighty power of Athens. It is true that he must, if successful in his last attempt, have become a despotic ruler; but he would have ruled with wisdom, justice, and mercy, like Gelon and Dion, and as a general he was infinitely superior to the latter.

His surviving adherents were banished, and among them Dionysius, son of another Hermocrates; but as he was disabled by his wounds he managed to escape notice, and remained in the city, his friends declaring that he was dead. The party of Hermocrates recognised in Dionysius a man of great ability, infinite daring, and boundless ambition, well suited to succeed their fallen leader.

The bitter feud between the two parties tended to weaken Syracuse still farther, and she had not yet recovered from the dire effects of the Carthaginian invasion. And yet she needed all her strength; for new danger threatened Sicily from Carthage.

Elated by their brilliant successes at Selinus and Himera, the Carthaginians were again making vast preparations to drive the Greeks from Sicily. The news of this soon reached the Syracusans, who in great alarm sent envoys to Carthage, to ask for explanation. The answer was evasive; the Syracusans saw through it, and anticipated the worst.

CHAPTER XXIV

FALL OF AKRAGAS (AGRIGENTUM, *hodie* GIRGENTI)

DURING the winter of 406 B.C. the Carthaginians had collected a mercenary force of 120,000 men (or 300,000?), consisting of Iberians, Gauls, Campanians, Libyans, and Numidians, and had prepared a fleet of a hundred and twenty triremes and fifteen hundred transports to carry this vast army to Sicily. To secure for them a safe landing, they had sent forty triremes to Motye.

The Syracusans, fully alive to the impending danger, sent out an equal number of ships, which met and defeated the advanced squadron of the Carthaginians at Eryx, and destroyed fifteen of their ships; but they withdrew on the approach of a larger force of fifty Carthaginian vessels.

Hannibal had been again appointed generalissimo; but his revenge had been satiated at Himera, and he declined. The Carthaginians, however, would not accept his plea of advanced age, and he was at last persuaded to take the command, upon the condition of having Himilcon, son of Hanno, at his side. The vast army of barbarians soon appeared on the coast and disembarked.

The Syracusans, naturally expecting an immediate attack, sent for aid to the Italian Greeks and to

Sparta; but Sparta had as much, and more, than she could do at home. The whole of Sicily was stirred to its depths with terror. No city was more greatly alarmed than Akragas, upon which, not upon Syracuse, the first shock of the invasion was to fall. The Agrigentines at once prepared for defence by carrying all their property within their walls, and provisioning their city for a lengthened siege. They also sent to Gela for Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, who was in command of the garrison of that town; and engaged him, with fifteen hundred hoplites, to serve in the defence of Akragas.

Akragas had enjoyed a long peace, during which she had attained almost fabulous prosperity. Her citizens, softened by ease and luxury, were deficient in warlike spirit. They had taken no part in the war with Athens, and generally avoided all warlike action, devoting themselves wholly to agriculture and commerce. They possessed extensive lands of marvellous fertility, on which they cultivated vines, olives, and corn, for exportation to Africa, in return for ivory and gold.

The city stood about two miles from the sea, upon several limestone hills, just above the confluence of the rivers Akragas and Hypsas. The northern half of these hills is about 1100 feet high above the sea-level, the southern part much lower. The ascent is very steep on all sides, except the south-west; and on the sea side the rock rises sheer from the plain. The whole mass of hills was surrounded by a strong wall. The city itself stood on the southern half of this fortified space of high ground; the Acropolis was on the north-eastern hill, and was separated from the city by a ravine, so as to be accessible only by a narrow path. On the hill of the Acropolis were the temples of Athene and Zeus Atabyrius; under the south wall of the city was the cemetery, with sepulchres and monuments, one dedicated to the tyrant Theron. Close by the city was an artificial lake,

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twenty ells deep and nearly a mile round, full of fish.

The population of Akragas was very large, but the greatly differing estimates of its numbers by ancient historians leave us in much uncertainty. According to one, Akragas contained twenty thousand "citizens," a vast number of "metics" (resident aliens) and of slaves, making a total of two hundred thousand male inhabitants. Another account states the whole number of the population, including men, women, and children, as no less than eight hundred thousand!

The hospitality of the wealthy Agrigentines surpassed all precedent. Among the best known was Gellias (or Tellias), who entertained all strangers; and when five hundred visitors came in a body from Gela he lodged and fed them all, and gave each man an upper and a lower garment. His cellar, which Polyclitus, a contemporary writer, saw, was excavated in the solid rock, and contained three hundred casks of wine, each holding a thousand amphoræ (nine-gallon vessels); besides a great vat holding a thousand amphoræ, from which they were replenished. Great toleration was shown to hard drinking. On one occasion a company of youthful roysterers drank until they felt the ground beneath them begin to heave and tremble. They thought they were on shipboard in a great storm, and, to save the vessel, they threw all the furniture, plate, and bottles out of the windows, to the great delight of the mob below. When the magistrates came to inquire into the cause of the riot, the revellers received them as sea-gods, excused themselves by the violence of the storm, and promised to offer grateful sacrifices to them as deliverers and saviours as soon as they reached the land. The authorities did not take the matter ill, and the house was afterwards called "The Ship."

Empedocles said of the Agrigentines that "they built as if they were to live for ever, and ate as if they expected to die of hunger next day."

Antisthenes was another of these regal citizens. On the occasion of his daughter's wedding he feasted all the citizens, each before his own house. Eight hundred splendid chariots followed the bridal procession, and an immense number of horsemen, many of them from neighbouring cities. Antisthenes ordered his slaves to pile up wood on the altars, and before the sanctuaries of the Gods, and in the streets; and to set fire to it when they saw a flame rising on the citadel; so that, when the bridal procession started, the whole city was in a blaze.

The Agrigentine territory was well adapted to the pasturing of horses, and the Agrigentine breed was celebrated throughout the Grecian world. In the 93rd Olympiad (408 B.C.) Exænetus, a citizen of Akragas, won the prize in the chariot-race with his country's horses. On his return from Greece after his victory he was met by his friends in three hundred chariots, each drawn by a pair of milk-white Agrigentine steeds.

The remains of the temples at Akragas, still to be seen, and the sculptures on the metopes, described in our notice of works of art in Sicily, testify to the extraordinary magnificence of this city. The temple of Zeus (Jupiter) was perhaps the largest in the Hellenic world. Temples and houses were full of pictures and statues, and among them was a picture of Alcmene, by Zeuxis, which the artist had presented as a gift to the people of Akragas, saying that it was "beyond all price." Very remarkable, too, were the numerous monuments raised to victorious horses, and even to pet birds, which were seen by the historian Timæus, and must therefore have survived the fall of the city. Precious vases were used at that period for funeral urns. The best coins are those of the fifth century before Christ, and among these are the series with the two eagles, bearing the names of the magistrates, Silanus and Straton. Art-weaving was practised in Akragas, as in other Sicilian cities.

But, alas! a population so wealthy, so luxurious, and pleasure-loving, so little accustomed to the discipline and the hardships of war, were totally unfit to meet the vast horde of savage barbarians, who were now advancing, thirsting for blood and for the plunder of the richest city of the Hellenic world. We read with astonishment an order of the Agrigentine generals that no sentinel, on going to his post for the night, was allowed to take more than one upper and one lower bed, one counterpane, and two pillows!

The Carthaginians marched straight to Akragas, but did not immediately attack. Hannibal sent envoys to offer terms which he knew would be rejected, viz. that Akragas should enter into an alliance with Carthage, or at least remain neutral. They were rejected, for the Agrigentines had great confidence in the strength of their walls and in the valour of the garrison, which included Dexippus, with his fifteen hundred mercenaries and eight hundred Campanians. And, in one respect, they had a great advantage over Selinus and Himera, in that the nature of the ground rendered it impossible to bring battering-rams and other siege machines close to the walls.

The smaller part of the Carthaginian army, composed of Iberians and some Africans, to the number of about forty thousand, pitched their tents east of the city; the other, larger division, erected a camp, fortified by a wall and fosse, nearer the city and west of the Iberians.

It has been remarked that Akragas occupied a much stronger and more easily defensible position than Selinus or Himera, being placed much above the level of the surrounding ground, except at one point, where the city wall to the south abutted on the cemetery. Hannibal, after a reconnoitre, sent his battering machines against this point. But after some hard fighting he was obliged to retire with the loss of his siege train, which the Agrigentines destroyed in a night sally.

Then Hannibal ordered his soldiers to pull down the tombs, of which there were a large number on the south side of the cemetery; and among them the magnificent monument of Theron. With the materials thus obtained he purposed to throw up an enormous mound as high as the city wall. In this operation the Carthaginian workmen were obliged to dig up the graves and expose the bodies of the dead. When they came to destroy the monument of Theron they were stopped by a thunderbolt. The sentinels were terrified at night by ghosts and spectres; a pestilence broke out and destroyed great numbers of the Carthaginians, and among them the great Hannibal himself!

Himilcon, now left alone in command, was terrified beyond measure by the manifest anger of the Gods, and its calamitous effect upon his army. He sought by every means to propitiate the offended deities. He sacrificed a boy to Kronos (Saturn) and threw some animals into the sea as an expiatory offering to Poseidon (Neptune). By these conciliatory measures the Gods were appeased, the terror of the soldiers mitigated, and the plague stayed. Himilcon continued the siege with all vigour, and threw up a vast mound of earth to the level of the city wall on the south side, on which he purposed to place his siege machines.

The siege operations conducted by Himilcon were, however, soon interrupted, and the Agrigentines were much encouraged by the arrival of powerful reinforcements, sent by Syracuse to aid in the defence of the city. The Syracusan force, with recruits from Messene, under the command of Daphnæus, was joined on its march by Camarinæans, Geloans, and Sicels, increasing it to the number of thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry; while a fleet of thirty Syracusan triremes in touch with the land forces sailed along the coast. When they were drawing near to Akragas Himilcon despatched forty thousand Iberians and

Campanians to meet them. A severe encounter ensued, in which the Greeks were completely victorious and the enemy lost six thousand men.

The pursuit of the beaten foe on the road back to Akragas was checked by the Syracusan generals, profiting by the lesson of Himera, before they had gone too far, lest their troops should reach the larger camp of the Carthaginians breathless and in disorder. But the senseless soldiers, instead of recognising the wisdom of their leaders, were furious with them for allowing the Iberians to escape. Daphnæus entered the city with his victorious army, and its citizens, with the Lacedæmonian general, Dexippus, came to meet and congratulate him. But their rejoicings were soon exchanged for violent attacks on the generals, who were accused of cowardice and corruption. An assembly was held, in which Menes, a Camarinæan general, and others laid charges of treason against the Agrigentine generals, rousing the citizens to such a pitch of insane fury that they even refused to hear the defence of the accused. Four of the Agrigentine generals were stoned on the spot; the fifth was spared only on account of his youth; but they did not dare to attack the Lacedæmonian, Dexippus.

The Greeks now feeling themselves on the stronger side prepared to storm the Carthaginian encampment, which proved to be too strongly fortified to be taken by assault. Their cavalry, nevertheless, swarmed around it on all sides and cut off its supply of provisions. This beleaguering of the camp lasted for months, and many Carthaginians actually died of hunger. Many of their mercenaries deserted to the Greeks, and the Campanians beset the tent of Himilcon, loudly demanding food. He could hardly appease them by pledging all the gold and silver vessels belonging to himself and his principal officers. But he was a man of great resource, and he devised a plan which at once changed the whole aspect of affairs.

He received intelligence that a large number of ships of burthen, carrying corn and convoyed by triremes, were on their way from Syracuse for the supply of the Agrigentine army. Himilcon, entreating his famished troops to have patience for a few days longer, secretly sent orders that forty Carthaginian triremes should come out from Motye and Panormus to intercept the Syracusan fleet. They came out, fell suddenly upon them, sank eight Syracusan triremes, and captured the whole supply of corn.

Now, in their turn, it was the Agrigentines whose army was brought face to face with starvation, while abundance reigned in the Carthaginian camp. The allies of Akragas, guided solely by their own selfish interests, at once gave up the contest. The faithless Campanian *condottieri* marched off to the enemy's camp, and received fifteen talents as a reward for their desertion. Dexippus, too, who had been censured and accused of being bribed, and was disgusted by the way in which the Agrigentine generals had been sacrificed to the mob, declared that the city was no longer defensible, for want of provisions. He advised the wretched Agrigentines, deserted by their allies and threatened with starvation, to abandon the city as the only means of saving their lives.

In a worse plight than even the citizens of Himera, the miserable Agrigentines—nursed in idleness, ease, and comfort, men of princely fortunes, victors at Olympia, and delicate women, accustomed to the extreme of luxurious living—hurried through the gates on a cold December night, abandoning their city filled with the richest treasures, and leaving behind them their aged helpless friends, the sick, the feeble women and helpless children. Some committed suicide rather than bow the neck to a barbarian foe, or face the dangers of the retreat. Some of them, among these the wealthy Gellias, sought the protection of the Gods in their magnificent temples; but with little hope.

When Himilcon rose next morning he saw a city deserted by its defenders, a miserable throng of unarmed men, distracted women, and wailing children, fleeing in haste and in loose disorder on the road to Gela. The Carthaginians were too agreeably occupied in seizing the unguarded booty of the city to waste much time in the pursuit; and the Agrigentine and Syracusan soldiers formed a rearguard to the fugitives.

Embittered by their own sufferings during the eight months' siege, in which they had so nearly failed disastrously, the Carthaginians rushed into the empty city, mad with a desire of vengeance, thirsting for blood and plunder. Everyone they met was mercilessly slain; even those who had taken refuge in the temples. Gellias, in the temple of Athene, seeing that the sanctity of the place would afford him no protection, set fire to the temple and perished in the flames.

The booty taken by the Carthaginians from this city, perhaps the richest in the Greek world, was enormous. The greater part of it was abandoned to the soldiers, and was sold on the spot. The most valuable objects, among which was the brazen bull of Phalaris, were sent to Carthage and received with enthusiastic joy.

CHAPTER XXV

RISE OF THE TYRANT DIONYSIUS

AND thus the third great and powerful Greek city of Sicily had fallen into the hands of the barbarians. Selinus was stormed in the short space of nine days; Akragas fell after a siege of seven or eight months, through desertion by her allies and mercenaries and the lack of ability and foresight in her generals. There was a universal conviction among the free Siceliot cities that Akragas ought not to have fallen; that it might have been provisioned; that the grand *coup* of Himilcon, the capture of the provision ships, might have been prevented by capable commanders.

The Carthaginians were naturally much elated by their brilliant success, and looked forward with renewed confidence to the conquest of the whole island. Among the Siceliots, on the contrary, the greatest alarm was felt; and especially in Syracuse, which now appeared to be the last refuge of Grecian independence.

Grave charges of incompetence, and even of corruption, were brought against the Syracusan generals who had commanded in Akragas, and were very generally believed in Syracuse. The other Sicilian Greeks throughout the island were greatly distressed by the shameful defeat of the Agrigentines, and were seriously alarmed for their

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own safety. In their abject terror many fled to Italy; others took refuge in Syracuse. The Syracusans especially were terror-stricken, for they felt sure that their own city would be the next object of attack.

An assembly was held to inquire into the conduct of the generals; and though there was not sufficient evidence to warrant their condemnation, they entirely forfeited the confidence of their fellow-citizens, who looked around them in despair for a leader on whom they could rely.

Dionysius saw his opportunity and made a skilful use of this mood of the public mind. The Hermocratean party had indeed been defeated and their leader slain; but they were still powerful and active; and, in the present favourable circumstances, came forward again with every chance of success.

Though Dionysius was still young and of obscure descent, he was chosen, in the existing dearth of nobler leaders, as head of the party; for they saw in him what they wanted, a man of great ability and consummate audacity. He had greatly distinguished himself in the conflict on the side of Hermocrates and in the war with the Carthaginians; and his reputation as a gallant soldier made up for his humble origin. Among his supporters were Hipparinus, a member of a distinguished family, who had ruined himself by extravagant follies; and Philistus, the subsequent historian of Sicily, a clever, rich young man who embraced the cause of Dionysius with the utmost enthusiasm.

In the assembly called to consider the disastrous state of affairs, the fall of Akragas, and the danger from the Carthaginians, the depression was so great that no one ventured to come forward to suggest the line of conduct to be pursued. A dead and mournful silence prevailed. Then Dionysius rose, and, in an eloquent and passionate harangue, accused the generals of betraying the cause of the Agrigentines. He then proceeded to denounce the wealthy aristocracy of the city as selfish tyrants, who thought only of their own

profit and aggrandisement, and cared nothing for the sufferings of the poorer citizens. He called upon the assembly to show its displeasure by condemning and deposing them without farther examination; he even called on the excited mob to stone the generals on the spot.

The authorities, who could not sanction such a breach of all laws, human and divine, interposed, and inflicted a fine on Dionysius. Then Philistus rose, and said that he would pay the fine, and Dionysius continued his harangue. He declared that the generals had purposely allowed Akragas to fall, and that they were seeking, with the help of the military party, to establish a tyrannical oligarchy. He so far prevailed in the assembly that they deposed the accused generals and elected others, amongst whom was Dionysius himself.

The colleagues appointed to act with Dionysius belonged to the same party as the deposed generals. Dionysius, therefore, held himself aloof from them, and openly spoke against them as men in league with the Carthaginians. No doubt there were some who saw the object of his intrigues, but the mass of poorer citizens, whom he flattered, applauded him, and thought that in him they had at last found the desired leader. Fortunately for Dionysius, his accomplice Hipparinus was one of the newly appointed generals; and the others seem to have been men of too little ability or influence effectually to thwart his designs. The deluded people looked only to Dionysius for advice and guidance, and ignored his colleagues.

His next step was to propose the recall of the exiles, most of whom had been partisans of Hermocrates. The people consented, and the other members of the Board of Generals did not dare to oppose him. The exiles returned in large numbers, full of party zeal and burning for vengeance on those who had banished them and slain their leader Hermocrates. Dionysius now sought to obtain possession of Gela, which was

threatened by the Carthaginians. The Geloans sent envoys to ask for the aid of Syracuse against Himilcon. Dionysius readily responded, sending twenty thousand hoplites and four hundred cavalry. Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, was there with a regiment of mercenaries; but little confidence was felt in "the betrayer of Akragas."

The city of Gela was governed by the rich, who formed an oligarchy but were opposed by a discontented democratic party. Dionysius, of course, took the part of the latter, and in the assembly called to hear his proposals vehemently accused the wealthy rulers of treasonous dealings with the Carthaginians. He prevailed on the Geloans to condemn them to death and to confiscate their property. With the money thus obtained he paid the arrears of Dexippus' mercenaries and doubled the pay of the Syracusan force. By these means he gained the warm affection of his soldiers and of the Geloan people, whom he had delivered from a tyrannical oligarchy. The Geloans, anxious to show their gratitude, presented him with a large sum of money from the public treasury, and sent envoys to Syracuse to deliver a laudatory report of all the good things he had done for Gela. He wished to found his power in Gela, but Dexippus refused to help him, nor would he accompany him to Syracuse; so Dionysius departed alone with his army. But the terrified Geloans, who daily expected the Carthaginian onslaught, besought him, with tears and entreaties, not to leave them in their danger. He with difficulty appeased them by promising to come again with a larger force.

He returned to Syracuse on the day of a great festival, and met the crowd coming from the theatre, who thronged round him with applause and congratulations. They naturally inquired whether he brought any news of the movements of the Carthaginians. Instead of the expected answer, he said: "The Carthaginians are not your most dangerous enemies, but your

generals, who fill their pockets with the public money, keeping back the pay of the troops, and make no preparations for the impending war! I have proofs of their treachery. Himilcon has sent an envoy to me, offering me a greater bribe than that which my colleagues have accepted if I would not interfere with his intrigues. This indignity I cannot bear, and I therefore come to resign my command. I cannot be suspected of sharing in their treachery!"

The next day an assembly was held, in which he renewed his attack on his colleagues. Then his partisans, one of whom, Hipparinus, had ambitious views of his own, came forward and declared it was intolerable that Dionysius should be allowed to resign, and boldly proposed that the traitors should be removed, and that Dionysius should be invested with the sole command. The people, fully persuaded of the treason of the other generals, immediately adopted this suggestion, deposed them, and passed a decree appointing Dionysius sole general of Syracuse, with plenary powers.

There was but one more step to a despot's throne—the formation of a bodyguard about his person; and this last step now Dionysius prepared to take. He knew that many of the people began to repent of their late vote, which put supreme military power into the hands of a single individual; and he despaired of obtaining leave to keep a military force depending solely on himself and not amenable to the civil authority. He therefore declared his intention of marching to Leontini; and he ordered all the Syracusan soldiers, up to the age of forty, to accompany him, taking with them rations for thirty days.

Leontini, once an independent city, was now only a fortified outpost of Syracuse, the resort of many foreign settlers and exiles from other Sicilian cities. These, for the most part needy and restless men, uprooted from their native soil, were just the men to seek new fortunes as followers of a clever adventurer like

Dionysius. He reckoned on the unwillingness of the better part of the Syracusan army to accompany him in an utterly purposeless expedition, which could in no way further the great object of defending Syracuse from the Carthaginians; and he saw, to his great satisfaction, that the men who responded to his call were, almost exclusively, his own partisans.

He encamped near Leontini, and during the first night his accomplices raised a great tumult, in the midst of which Dionysius, half dressed, rushed out of his tent, and called upon his most intimate friends to protect him from murderers who, he said, had sought to kill him. Under the protection of his confederates he repaired to the acropolis of the city. Next morning an assembly was held, and all his soldiers flocked to Leontini. Dionysius made a pathetic appeal to them for protection against his enemies, who were, he declared, incessantly plotting to take his life, and had on the preceding night tried to murder him in his tent. He was warmly seconded by other speakers and loudly applauded by the assembly, most of whom were ready to support him in any undertaking, however nefarious. Then this so-called Syracusan assembly made a decree, granting him a bodyguard, to the number of six hundred, to be chosen by himself and solely responsible to him. Some voices were raised, protesting against the formidable strength of the proposed guard, and advising the assembly to sanction the employment only of a small number, sufficient to guard Dionysius from his private enemies; but no one listened to these counsels. He immediately enrolled a thousand men, entirely disregarding the limitation to six hundred, and selecting in preference the bravest, the most needy, the most reckless men, who would do *anything* to retrieve their ruined fortunes. These he furnished with the most perfect arms, and promised them the most magnificent pay. Besides this bodyguard, for which he had a quasi-legal sanction, he raised another force of mercenaries, whom he bound

to himself by gifts and promises, and who were not less devoted to him than his guard. Having summoned Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, from Gela, he now dismissed him, sending him home to the Peloponnesus, and took his mercenaries into his own service.

Dionysius cunningly made all these arrangements at Leontini, fearing opposition if he had carried them out at Syracuse. When he had thus laid the foundation of his despotism, he marched back to Syracuse. This took place in the year 405 B.C. We may wonder perhaps that the Syracusans received him within their gates, for his force was hardly large enough to storm the city. But many causes combined to weaken the opposition to the new tyranny. The Carthaginian storm was about to burst over their heads. They had no confidence in the power of a democratic constitution to carry them successfully through a great war. The circumstances of the time seemed to call loudly for a dictator; and the majority of the citizens were really content to receive Dionysius as their master, as the only man who could save them from the fate of Selinus and Himera.

He chose for his headquarters the island of Ortygia, which commanded the two harbours of Syracuse; and established himself in the strong fortress of the acropolis. So completely cowed were the Syracusans by his well-organised force and his impregnable position in Ortygia that, when he convoked an assembly, he found them ready to obey his commands without a thought of resistance.

He began his career of treachery and bloodshed by demanding a sentence of death against Daphnæus and Demarchus, two wealthy men who had been his chief opponents, and were two of those generals whom he had incited the people to murder without trial.

Dionysius was keenly sensitive to his want of noble birth; he therefore took to wife the daughter of Hermocrates, and gave his own sister in marriage to Polyxenus, a brother of his former chief.

CHAPTER XXVI

REIGN OF DIONYSIUS I

AND thus was Dionysius established in despotic power after a long series of artful and violent measures. He had every personal qualification for success, as well as powerful assistance from the circumstances in which Syracuse found itself. He was fearless, dexterous, resourceful, and utterly unscrupulous in the means he took to accomplish his ends. He had no religious qualms; he had no love, no pity, no remorse; he feared neither God nor man, and he was not hampered by any personal affection for any human being. He kept his objects steadily before him, and though the way to them lay through treachery and bloodshed he never hesitated a moment to follow it to the desired end.

Then, too, he was greatly assisted by the state of affairs in Syracuse and Sicily. A powerful and triumphant enemy was at the gates; the people, in an agony of terror, were looking around for a saviour, and they saw no rival of equal or nearly equal fitness for the task; what wonder, then, that they clung to Dionysius as their only refuge in the hour of their dire distress?

Himilcon, meanwhile, remained in his winter quarters at Akragas, where he settled his soldiers in comfortable houses, which, after gutting them of

their contents, he had purposely left standing. But in the spring of 405 B.C. he demolished both temples and private houses, mutilated the precious works of art, and marched away to Camarina and Gela, districts not as yet laid waste, which seemed to offer a rich field for plunder. He then prepared to attack Gela, and entrenched himself in a fortified camp near the river Gela, between the city and the sea. Here he found a gigantic statue of Apollo, which he sent as a present to Tyre, the great mother city.

Dionysius had sent away Dexippus and his mercenaries, to whom the Geloans had looked for help in the defence of their city, which was now defended only by her own citizens. Greatly alarmed by the presence of the Carthaginians, they wisely determined to send their wives and children to Syracuse. But the women fled to the altars of the Gods, declaring that they would rather encounter hardships, dangers, and death, than leave their husbands and their home. The Geloans prepared for a vigorous defence, which they hoped to maintain until the arrival of the promised aid from Syracuse. Himilcon, as usual, moved up his siege machines and assaulted the walls at several points at once. The fortifications were by no means strong or in good order, and many breaches were made. But the whole population—men, women, and children—worked at the repair of the walls during the night, and bravely resisted the attempts of the enemy to force an entrance.

At last Dionysius arrived with the long-looked-for reinforcements, consisting of the best of the Syracusan youth, his newly-raised mercenaries, and contingents from Sicily and Italy. The authorities differ, as usual, in their estimates of the numbers of Dionysius' army; Ephorus says fifty thousand infantry, Timæus thirty thousand, a thousand cavalry, and fifty ships. Dionysius pitched his camp by the sea, near Gela, and tried to intercept the supply of provisions sent to the Carthaginians. But such slow methods of proceeding

DEFEAT OF DIONYSIUS IN GELA 175

were repugnant to his nature; and, after twenty days of desultory warfare, he determined to attack the Carthaginian camp in full force. He divided his army into three corps—Sicilians, Italiots, and mercenaries, of which last he took the command himself, proposing to march with it through the city and to attack the Carthaginian centre, where the machines were placed. The Syracusans were ordered to attack the enemy's entrenchments from the north; while the Italiots, leaving the city on the right hand, were to march along the coast, supported by the fleet, and to attack the camp.

But of these operations only the last, that of the Italiots, with the fleet, had any measure of success. The attacks were to have been made simultaneously; but the division on the right hand came too late, and the centre, under Dionysius, did not attack at all. He in his march through the town met with so many obstructions that he did not reach the point of attack until long after the appointed time. He found that the other two divisions, coming on successively and entirely unsupported, had been repulsed with heavy loss. He therefore withdrew into the city, and quickly made up his mind to leave Gela to her fate; and he ordered the wretched Geloans to abandon their city and to flee in the night to Syracuse. He followed them some hours later with his army, leaving only two hundred light troops in Gela, who kindled many fires and made as much noise as possible, to conceal the flight of the citizens and the retreat of Dionysius' army. When the two hundred also departed, the Carthaginians entered the deserted city.

Dionysius marched thence to Camarina (once declared by an oracle to be "immoveable"), and ordered its inhabitants likewise to decamp at once and to follow the Geloans to Syracuse. The way in which whole communities were uprooted and transferred from one city to another—as was done upon this occasion, and had formerly been done under the

tyrants Hiero and Gelon—is a very peculiar feature of Sicilian history. The barbarous cruelty of the Carthaginians to their prisoners, whom they frequently crucified, filled the Geloans and Camarinæans with such terror that most of them left their goods behind them, seeking only to save themselves from horrible outrage. Others, most eager to save their property, might be seen carrying precious loads, even of gold and silver, along the road, while they had left the sick and wounded and infirm in the city, abandoned to the tender mercies of a cruel foe.

The disgraceful defeat and flight of the fine force with which Dionysius had marched out of Syracuse, and the spectacle of those wretched outcasts from lately prosperous cities, aroused great indignation, even in his own army. Cunning despot as he was, one whom many of his countrymen cordially hated, they had thought him a bold and skilful general. Now, after all his boasting, all his disparagement of the other generals, he was coming back without having effected anything! He had sullied the honour and destroyed the prestige of the Syracusan army. Many believed that he was a traitor, because Himilcon did not pursue him. The Italian Greeks at once marched off, to cross the Straits of Messina on their way home. Discontent was rife in the army, especially among the youths of the higher class who served in the cavalry; those young men broke out in open rebellion, and watched for an opportunity to fall upon Dionysius while on the march. But he was too well protected by his mercenaries, who had suffered no injury, never having been in action at Gela. The cavalry mutineers, unable to carry out their plan of killing Dionysius, galloped away, far ahead of the army, to Syracuse.

They arrived in the evening, before the disastrous tidings from Gela had reached the city, and they were admitted therefore to the little island of Ortygia, where Dionysius had established his residence in a strong fortress. They broke into his palace, which

they found full of gold and silver and other objects of the greatest value—so busily had he spent the few weeks hitherto of his reign in despoiling citizens of the richer class. They turned their wrath most atrociously against his unfortunate wife, whom they so cruelly maltreated that she died a short time afterwards.

When Dionysius became aware of the secession of the cavalry, he chose a body of six hundred foot and one hundred horsemen, and made a rapid march of about forty-five miles to Syracuse, where he arrived at midnight. He knew that the gate of Ortygia was closed and guarded; he therefore tried to enter the gate of Achradina, which, though shut, was undefended. This gate he burnt down with some rushes and wood. He made himself master of this important part of the city, and of the agora, the largest open space. When the insurgents heard the alarming news they hurried thither, not in a compact orderly body, but in successive detachments, in disorderly haste, and were easily overpowered and cut down by the mercenaries. Dionysius was completely victorious, and lost no time in attacking the houses of his opponents and slaying those whom he found at home, and driving the others into exile. Most of the cavalry were slain; the few survivors took refuge in the town of Ætna. Dionysius was now more firmly established in supreme power than ever. But the Geloans and the Camarinæans, who had ample reason for distrusting and hating him, refused to submit to his rule, and went off to Leontini.

The hatred of the aristocratic soldiers to Dionysius was increased by the fact that he had served in the cavalry under Hermocrates; and they looked upon him as a renegade. But their opposition was overpowered by his cunning and ferocity, and he continued to cement his throne with blood and tears. Himilcon was now preparing to advance against Syracuse, and no doubt would have done so but for a terrible plague

which broke out in his camp, as so often happened with the Carthaginian armies. It carried off nearly half his soldiers; and as further progress then seemed impossible, he sent envoys to Dionysius, to negotiate a peace on the following conditions: first, the Carthaginians were to be left in quiet possession of their former territory and of the Sicanian towns, and of the newly-conquered cities of Selinus, Himera, and Akragas; Gela and Camarina were to be restored to their fugitive inhabitants, but were to destroy their fortifications and pay tribute to Carthage. Secondly, the Syracusans were to remain subject to Dionysius. Thirdly, captives and the captured vessels were to be mutually exchanged.

It was thought, and no doubt with reason, that Dionysius was in collusion with Himilcon, and that he purchased the valuable recognition of his sovereign rule over Syracuse by the abandonment of Selinus, Himera, Agrigentum, Gela, and Camarina to the Carthaginians. Had he cared for the freedom of the Greek cities in Sicily, or for anything but his own personal aggrandisement, he might easily have overpowered the army of Himilcon, diminished and prostrated by disease. He probably saw with satisfaction the fate of mighty rival cities, like Selinus and Himera, and the reduction of the whole of the south of Sicily by the barbarians. Syracuse now stood alone in her prosperity and power, and *he* was her absolute ruler.

Having thus secured himself both from foreign and domestic enemies, he prepared to found his own power at home upon a lasting foundation. He chose the little islet of Ortygia as the centre and fortress of his dominion; and shut it off from the mainland by a strong and lofty wall, strengthened by towers, in front of which he constructed spacious halls for storing provisions, so that vendors of goods need not enter the island. This wall embraced, to the north, the whole shore of the Little Harbour, in which were

the arsenal and sixty ships of war. He also erected within the island, close to the Little Harbour, a separate citadel, the walls of which were extended so as to embrace the whole of that harbour, to which only one ship at a time could be admitted. His stronghold was therefore a combination of palace, citadel, and arsenal, impregnable from the outside, but enabling him to attack others whenever he pleased.

From this well-fortified island he drove out all the inhabitants, and gave their houses to the most trusty officers of his guard, his mercenaries, and his most zealous friends among the citizens. No one was allowed to live or even to set foot in the island except his own close adherents; but for these he provided comfortable quarters.

Still further to benefit his friends, and to increase and extend his popularity among the masses, he made a new distribution of the lands; giving the best to the officers of his mercenaries and to his friends; dividing the remainder, in equal shares, among all the inhabitants, citizens and slaves alike. These slaves, of course, now became citizens, and were naturally bound to Dionysius, as the author of their improved position and fortune. Instead of killing or exiling the aristocrats, who were generally his enemies, he gained the same end by reducing them to poverty.

The cost of these changes must have been enormous, but we have no information as to the source from which the necessary funds were taken. The taxation must have been crushing; Aristotle tells us that in the course of five years the citizens paid their whole substance into the hands of Dionysius, which would mean that twenty per cent. of their property was exacted from them every year.

Dionysius, having secured himself at home, now turned his attention to foreign conquest; and first of all he marched against the insurgent Sicels in the interior of the island. He laid siege to their town of Herbessus, but he was unpleasantly interrupted by a

mutiny among his own forces. We may easily believe, from the above relation of the tyrant's acts, that the whole camp was seething with discontent. This showed itself in loud abuse of Dionysius: and when his general, Dorichus, rebuked those who uttered it and threatened them with stripes, they slew Dorichus, declared Syracuse free and independent, and sent to Ætna for the exiled cavalry. Then they chose the slayers of Dorichus for their generals.

Dionysius, now thoroughly alarmed and bewildered by the suddenness of the mutiny, the nature and extent of which he did not fully understand, fled in all haste to his fortress in Ortygia. Meantime, the insurgents sent for help to Messene and Rhegium; and, joining themselves with the exiled horsemen from Ætna, who at once responded to their call, marched with their full force to Syracuse, and encamped on the heights of Epipolæ. Dionysius was thus cut off from all intercourse with the country and confined to his fortified island.

The Messenians and Rhegines sent a strong squadron of triremes and blockaded the seaside in aid of the insurgents. The Corinthians sent only sympathy, and Nicoteles, a distinguished Corinthian, as adviser. The leaders of the revolt proclaimed Syracuse a free city, and offered its freedom and citizenship to all mercenaries who would come over to them; by which promise many were induced to desert from Dionysius. All seemed promising for the success of the movement. Siege machines were brought against the walls of Ortygia, and only their strength saved Dionysius from speedy destruction. He himself began to despair, being especially alarmed by the desertion of his chosen mercenaries. He discussed the situation with his brother-in-law, Polyxenus, who strongly advised him to take horse and gallop away to the Campanians in the service of Carthage, who were probably at Gela or Akragas, and to purchase their aid at *any* price.

But his other friends, Heloris and Megacles, would not sanction so dishonourable a proceeding, and declared that, "if the Fates had decreed that he should die, the noblest shroud would be the royal robe." Dionysius resolved, therefore, to hold out. He cunningly promised the Syracusans to leave Sicily, if they would let him go unmolested; meantime, he sent messengers to the Campanians, to tell them that they might fix their own terms if they would but come at once.

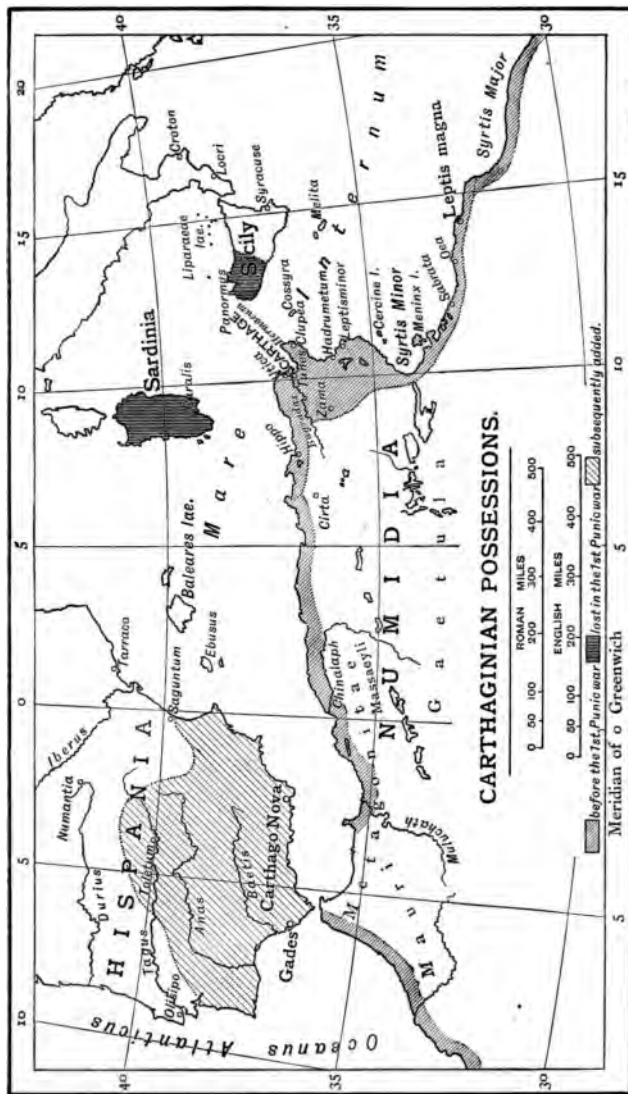
The offer of Dionysius to give up the contest and depart threw the insurgents into a delirium of joy and exultation. The attack on the fortress was suspended, and the forces were broken up. The horsemen who had aided them so zealously and effectively were ungratefully dismissed and sent back to Ætna. In this unprepared and disorderly condition the Syracusans were suddenly attacked and were utterly routed by the Campanians, who had gladly accepted the brilliant offers of Dionysius; but they were not able to force their way to Ortygia and there join Dionysius, who had just received a reinforcement from the ships. Meantime, the Syracusans disagreed as to the continuance of the siege. While they were disputing among themselves, Dionysius led out his troops and completely overthrew them in the suburb of Neapolis, south-west of Achradina. Not many were slain, for Dionysius himself rode up and checked the slaughter. He also buried the dead with solemn funeral rites, hoping to assuage the wrath and hatred of his enemies.

The defeated force was scattered through the land. Seven thousand hoplites joined the cavalry at Ætna, and to these Dionysius sent envoys, offering them peace and amity if they would return to Syracuse. He informed them of the honours paid to their dead; to which they replied that he, too, was worthy of similar honour, and that they hoped he would soon obtain it! A few, whose families were in Syracuse,

accepted his offers and returned; but very few would trust him.

He dismissed the Campanians with rich rewards, knowing their utter faithlessness; though it was they, and they alone, who rescued him from a desperate, hopeless position. The dismissed Campanians withdrew to Entella, where they were well received. But in the night they rose and fell upon the unarmed inhabitants, slew all the men, and married their wives and daughters and established themselves permanently in the town.

This was the first forcible settlement (in 403 B.C.) of an Italian force in Sicily since the coming of the Greeks; and its success shows what a great change had taken place in the circumstances and relations of the inhabitants of Sicily.



CHAPTER XXVII

PROLONGED REIGN OF DIONYSIUS

HAVING rid himself of the untrustworthy Campanians, who were always the servants of the highest bidder, Dionysius sought more solid foundations for his re-established throne, and found them in an alliance with Sparta.

Sparta, which had once been the foe of tyrants, was now entirely demoralised by wealth and power. She now sought for subjects, not allies, and favoured tyranny wherever it showed its head. She upheld the Thirty Tyrants in Athens, and the oligarchy in Thebes; and she was quite ready to support Dionysius against his people. The establishment of Dionysius on the throne was the policy of the mighty Lysander, who came in person to Syracuse. Dionysius was aided, in his endeavours to fix his yoke more firmly on the necks of his subjects, by a Lacedæmonian envoy named Aristus. But the Corinthians, who wished to see their colonies free and prosperous, also sent a messenger, Nicoteles, to encourage the Syracusan people. Aristus, too, hypocritically pretended to sympathise with the democrats; and having learnt their secrets, betrayed them to the tyrant. And when Nicoteles sought to expose his duplicity, Aristus roused the mob against him, and caused him to be stoned.

Many tales are told of the meeting of those remarkable men, Dionysius and Lysander. Dionysius, it is said, offered a very splendid dress to Lysander, for his daughter; which he at first refused, but afterwards accepted, under the influence, perhaps, of the young lady herself. By this close friendship both Dionysius and Sparta gained much for the promotion of their respective designs.

Greatly strengthened by the presence and support of powerful Spartans, Dionysius now took another step to deprive the Syracusans of all chance of recovering their freedom. During the harvest the whole male population of Syracuse were busily engaged outside the city. In their absence he caused their houses to be entered and searched, and all the weapons found in them to be carried to his fortress. He also erected more and stronger walls around Ortygia, increased his army of mercenaries, and built more ships.

Seeing the utter prostration of the defenceless people, and the strength of his military force, he thought it advisable to lead them to foreign conquest. Avoiding the territory of the Carthaginians, whom he did not wish, as yet, to meet, he attacked Ætna, which submitted at once. Then he marched against the Chalcidian towns, Naxos, Leontini, and Catana. These three cities were still independent, and when he summoned Leontini to surrender he met with a refusal, and saw that the inhabitants were preparing a vigorous defence. As he had no siege machines with him, he devastated the lands, and then advanced into the country of the Sicels, towards Henna and Herbita, but only to lull Naxos and Catana into security and negligence. He made a treaty with the chief of Henna, Æimnestus, to the effect that the latter should get possession of the town, and share it with Dionysius. Æimnestus succeeded in his task, and then foolishly thought he could keep the whole town for himself, and closed the gates on Dionysius. The tyrant was so enraged by this breach of faith that

he incited the Hennæans to rise against Æimnestus; they rose accordingly, and then Dionysius captured him, delivered him up to his enemies, and left the place without further interference. He seems to have failed before Herbita, and probably did not press the siege of that place with much vigour. Meantime, traitors in Catana and Naxos were preparing the way for him. As in all Greek cities, the population of those towns was divided into parties; and there seemed to be no treachery, no crime, even, which the one party would not commit to get the better of the other. Party strife is bitter enough in our own days, but only a few Englishmen would like to imbrue their hands in the blood of their political opponents.

When Dionysius marched to Catana the general, Arcesilaus, admitted him in the night; whereupon he took possession of the city, carried off all the arms in the place, and left a powerful garrison. Another foul traitor, named Procles, gave up Naxos to Dionysius, and received a rich reward for his villainy. He was allowed to save his own relations, but both cities were given up to the soldiers to plunder; after which the walls and the houses were levelled with the ground, and the inhabitants sold for slaves.

The fate of these two prosperous cities so daunted the spirit of the Leontines that when Dionysius returned to Leontini, and called on them to surrender, they had no longer the courage to resist, and surrendered their city, on his promise to receive them as citizens in Syracuse.

Dionysius was anxious to stand well with the Sicels, whom he found useful as auxiliaries. He therefore founded a new town, Hadranon, around the temple of their god Hadranus, to show them how highly he honoured their religion. In 403 B.C. he concluded a treaty of peace and alliance with their town Herbita. This town was ruled by Archonides, grandson of a noted Sicel prince of the same name. Many fugitives had taken refuge at Herbita for fear of Dionysius;

and when peace with him was concluded, Archonides found their presence burdensome; he therefore removed them to a new settlement, eight stadia from the sea on the north coast, near Calacte. Two years before, the Campanian mercenaries had founded, near there, the town of Alæsa, from which they had migrated to Entella. Archonides called the new settlement "Alæsa Archonideios."

Everywhere but in Syracuse Dionysius thus sought to obliterate the distinction between Hellenes and Sicels. But Syracuse remained Greek, and boasted of being the only important Hellenic city in Sicily.

Above all things, Dionysius was anxious to retrieve his damaged credit as a general, and to stand forward as the champion of Hellenism against Barbarism. He wanted to prove that he had not been a traitor at Gela, and that he had in him the spirit of a Gelon.

In the war with Athens the Syracusans had learned the immense importance of Epipolæ, which lay outside the fortifications, three or four miles from the sea, and formed a dangerous point of attack for any invader. Epipolæ sloped up, gradually, from the north-west side of Achradina, and was bordered on its north and south sides by a precipitous cliff, twenty feet deep at the lowest part. It gradually ascended, therefore, from the outer wall of Achradina to the apex of Euryelus. This point was of vital importance to the defence of Syracuse, as it commanded the narrow path to Epipolæ from its western extremity, by which alone an army could get upon the slope of the hill. The task of including these heights by a fortified wall was enough to appal the boldest; but Dionysius resolved to undertake it.

From the sea shore, where the new wall must begin, to the summit of Epipolæ, the distance was about thirty stadia, 18,000 English feet, nearly three miles and a quarter. Dionysius began, in 402 B.C., with the north side, which he wished to fortify as quickly as possible. He called out the entire population—about

sixty thousand—selected the best men for the work, and divided the length into a hundred and eighty sections, to each of which he assigned two hundred labourers, with an architect over every six sections—altogether 36,000 men. The rest were employed in the quarries at Buffalaro in Epipolæ which afforded abundance of excellent material, where the stones were hewn into the required shape and conveyed to the masons at the wall by six hundred teams of oxen. Dionysius and his courtiers spent the whole day at the work; and the tyrant himself often took the place of an exhausted labourer.

As this work was not, like the fortifications of Ortygia, intended to ensure the dominion and flatter the pride of the despot, but to protect Syracuse itself from the Carthaginians, the men worked with a will, and many of the strongest worked all through the night. The stupendous work was, therefore, completed in twenty days, or at least the wall itself; the towers, and the extensive and elaborate fortification of Euryleus, which are still the wonder of all beholders, could not possibly have been finished in about three weeks.

Having thus provided for the safety of the city from a siege by a foreign army, Dionysius began, in 399 B.C., to make active preparations for taking the offensive in a war with Carthage. He engaged a fresh force of mercenaries from Naupactus and Cephalonia, being Messenians who had been expelled from their own country by Sparta. But, cautious man as he was, he saw the danger to which he would be exposed if, when he marched out with his army, he left behind him a discontented and hostile people in Syracuse itself. He therefore entirely changed his demeanour towards the citizens, and instead of putting them to death, or driving them into exile, on the least suspicion, he now treated them in a spirit of mildness and conciliation. The Syracusans had, indeed, suffered terribly under his rule; nor was it only his own

capricious cruelty that they had to fear. The garrison, on which his dominion rested, was composed almost wholly of barbarians, or lawless Italian "*condottieri*," who regarded the unarmed citizens with contempt, as their lawful prey, and subjected them to every kind of insult and spoliation. They had hitherto been unchecked in their excesses, which made the lot of the respectable citizens so intolerable that many fled to towns in the Punic territory.

But now all was changed; for Dionysius not only ceased to harass them himself, but obliged his satellites to treat them with some consideration. His present purpose, too, of making war on Carthage, tended to make him popular with his Hellenic subjects; for they naturally regarded the Carthaginians with both fear and hatred. Dionysius knew that the Carthaginians excelled not only in the numbers of their forces, but in the superiority of their equipment, their arms, and their war-machines. He therefore set himself to equal them in these respects by attracting to Syracuse skilled artisans from Italy, from Greece, and even from Carthaginian territories in Sicily. He offered very large pay to those who would work for him in the making of the best arms and the most powerful siege-machines. The work soon became popular; and the market-place, the gymnasias, and even the precincts of the temples, resounded to the heavy blows of the hammer. It is said that not fewer than 140,000 shields and 14,000 breastplates, many of them being of exquisite workmanship, were fabricated in a marvellously short time; as well as an infinite number of helmets, spears, swords, daggers, and arrows. Many rich men allowed the artisans to work in their houses, and gave prizes for the highest technical skill. Dionysius was seen everywhere, encouraging the workmen, and praising their work; he even went so far as to invite those who most distinguished themselves to his luxurious feasts. He offered special rewards for new inventions; and the competition thus

invoked led to the invention of the catapult, which was now for the first time fabricated; also the newly invented five-benched ships, rowed by five ranks of oarsmen, in tiers one above the other, were now first seen upon the sea. The wood necessary for ship-building came partly from the forests in Ætna and partly from Italy, whence it was brought on enormous rafts. Syracuse at this time possessed a hundred and ten triremes and a hundred and fifty ship-houses, but this seemed to Dionysius inadequate; he constructed a hundred and sixty new ship-houses, each to hold two vessels, and began to build two hundred new triremes. Thus he raised a naval force equal in number to the fleets of Athens in her best days, and comprising ships of a larger size than Athens had ever dreamed of. In all these proceedings the tyrant was followed by the sympathy and goodwill of his Hellenic subjects, which, of course, greatly aided him in his undertaking.

Just at this time, however, he was apprehensive of trouble from some of the Greek cities in Sicily. Selinus, Himera, Akragas, Gela, and Camarina were now open cities, and could afford no help. Dionysius himself had destroyed the Chalcidian towns of Catana and Naxos. There remained only Messene and Rhegium, where there were many Syracusan exiles, bitterly hostile to Dionysius. The Rhegines were the first to move, and they sent over to Messene, to ask her co-operation. The representations of their envoys, who said that a rebellion would break out in Syracuse directly, when their united forces approached that city, had a powerful effect on the Messenians. Their general, without calling an assembly to vote, summoned all their force, four thousand hoplites and four hundred cavalry, which joined the force of Rhegium, the latter mustering six thousand hoplites and 3600 horsemen, which marched with them towards the Syracusan frontier. But when they reached the confines of their own territory many of the Messenian soldiers, by the advice of Laomedon, refused to go any

further, and marched back to their city. The Rhegines, deserted by their allies, feeling themselves too weak for such a formidable enterprise, also returned home.

Greatly relieved by this turn of the affair, Dionysius, who had led forth an army to defend his borders, returned to Syracuse, and opened negotiations with the Messenians, whom he appeased by a concession of border territory. He hoped then to win the Rhegines by asking the hand of a Rhegine maiden for himself in marriage, and offering them increased territory, with other advantages of his alliance. An assembly was held at Rhegium, by which, after a long debate, his offer was declined, to his great astonishment and disgust. One of the speakers declared that "the daughter of the public executioner would be the fitting wife for *him*!" This caused lasting enmity between Dionysius and the city of Rhegium. Smarting with vexation at this rebuff, he made the same offer to Locri, which was favourably received. He married Doris, the daughter of a distinguished Locrian citizen called Xenetus. Aristotle blames the Locrians for agreeing to this match, which, he considers, was very imprudent on their part; and we know that it did, in fact, lead to the overthrow of the democracy in Locri; but the Locrians were not unanimously in favour of the alliance. One of them, named Aristides, a friend of Plato, declared, if Dionysius wished to marry his daughter, that he would rather see her dead than married to a tyrant! In revenge for this affront, Dionysius caused the two sons of Aristides to be murdered.

Having thus cleared his path of all other enemies, Dionysius now bent all his thoughts upon his grand enterprise of the war with Carthage. But before starting he celebrated his double marriage with two wives; Doris, whom we have just mentioned, and Aristomache, a Syracusan, the daughter of his friend and partisan, Hipparinus. The first use made of the newly invented "quinquereme," or ship with five tiers

of oarsmen, profusely ornamented with gold and silver, was to bring Doris from Locri to Ortygia. Like honour was paid to Aristomache, who was brought to the house of Dionysius in a magnificent chariot drawn by four milk-white horses.

The two weddings were celebrated on the same day; the whole population took part in the rejoicings and festivities; for Dionysius was popular for the moment, and ventured to mingle with the holiday-makers.

Doris bore him three children, the eldest of whom was "Dionysius the Younger," the second tyrant. Aristomache, to his vexation, remained barren for a considerable time. He discovered, or imagined, that her barrenness was caused by the magical incantations of the mother of Doris, and he put her to death.

After the nuptials he called an assembly and formally proclaimed war against Carthage. He appealed to the Syracusans to avenge the five Grecian cities, which the Carthaginians had destroyed with every circumstance of barbarity and cruelty. He told them that Carthage, as soon as she had recovered from the devastating plague, would renew her attacks on the Sicilian Greeks, and first of all on Syracuse herself. The Syracusans received the declaration of war with the greatest enthusiasm, which was still further heightened by his giving them permission to plunder the Carthaginian settlers in Syracuse and its subject towns. The presence of Carthaginian merchant vessels laden with costly freights in the Great Harbour made this licence to plunder a source of great profit to the Syracusan soldiers. Other towns followed the example of Syracuse; and the Carthaginians in many cities were not only robbed, but were subjected to every kind of ignominy and torture, in revenge for the atrocities perpetrated in the cities of Selinus, Himera, and Akragas.

In 397 B.C. Dionysius sent envoys to Carthage with a formal declaration of war. It was received by the

Carthaginian Senate with the utmost dismay, for he called on her to relinquish her dominion over all the Greek cities in Sicily as the only way of avoiding instant war. The despondency and prostration in Carthage produced by the ravages of the plague, by which her subject towns were depopulated, made this war especially inopportune for her; and reports of the number of Dionysius' forces and the splendid equipment of his army added greatly to the consternation of her citizens. Such an armament had never been seen in Greece itself; it far surpassed that with which Gelon had destroyed the Carthaginian host at Himera.

Dionysius wished to get the start of Carthage before she had time to garrison her subject towns. No sooner had he crossed the Syracusan border, and marched westward along the south coast, than the towns of Camarina, Gela, Akragas, Selinus, and Himera broke out in open revolt against their Carthaginian rulers; and the latter were not only plundered, but were subjected to most revolting and fiendish tortures. The inhabitants, mad with the fury of revenge, casting off the restraints of their Greek civilisation and their comparative moderation, now surpassed their barbarian teachers in every kind of wanton brutality. From all these towns, as Dionysius passed along, great numbers joined his army; and he was able to provide them with arms and armour from the abundant stores which he carried with him. These reinforcements raised the total of his army to eighty thousand infantry and more than three thousand cavalry. It was flanked by a fleet of two hundred ships of war, and probably not less than five hundred transports with provisions and battering machines—the vast importance of which Dionysius had learnt from the example of Hannibal.

His first objects of attack were Eryx and Motye, Carthaginian settlements in the west of Sicily; Panormus and Solkeis and Motye being on the coast nearest

to Carthage. Eryx surrendered to him on the first summons.

Motye stood on a small island, separated from Sicily by a strait about two-thirds of a mile in breadth, but joined to it by an artificial dam. On the approach of Dionysius the Motyenes broke up this mole and prepared a vigorous defence, which they hoped to maintain until the arrival of help from Carthage.

Dionysius, with his engineers, reconnoitred the place and received their advice as to the plan of assault. He then left his admiral, Leptines, with a part of the army, to construct the necessary works; and himself led the rest of the army, engaged in the congenial task of plundering and laying waste the neighbouring territory. The Sicani submitted, but the towns of Ancyra, Solcis, Panormus, Segesta, and Entella held out against him. On his return from this raid he carried on the siege of Motye with all vigour. He ordered his sailors to restore the dam, and make along it a path for men and siege machines to approach close to the walls of the town on the island.

Himilcon, the Carthaginian commander-in-chief, was not able to meet the Syracusan fleet in battle, but he sought to induce Dionysius to send a part of his fleet home; for which purpose ten Carthaginian triremes appeared in the harbour at Syracuse and destroyed a few merchant vessels. They effected, however, nothing of importance, and failed to alarm Dionysius. Another Carthaginian manœuvre seemed likely, at first, to be more successful. Himilcon, with a hundred ships, came across the sea to the Selinuntine coast by night, rounded Cape Lilybæum, and appeared at daybreak before Motye. The Syracusans were completely taken by surprise. Himilcon entered the harbour and destroyed their blockading ships, for, the harbour being so small, the superiority of Dionysius' fleet in numbers gave it no advantage. Many more of his ships would have been destroyed if he had not brought up his newly-invented catapults

to ward off the attacks upon them. These machines, playing from a distance upon the Carthaginians, checked their onset and astounded them. Dionysius, or more probably the skilful engineers who accompanied him, then thought of a bold move, which at once relieved his fleet from its dangerous position in the crowded harbour.

The innermost part of the harbour was only about two miles distant from the sea. Dionysius ordered his sailors to drag the ships, not down to the harbour, but across the tongue of land which separated them from the sea. The engineers constructed a road of wooden planks, over which eighty ships, including the enormous quinqueremes, were dragged down to the sea, it is said, in a single day! When Himilcon saw what was preparing for him, and that he would soon have to fight with a fleet double in number to his own, and that he ran a risk of being cut off from Africa, he sailed away with all speed to Carthage and left Motye to its fate.

The completion of the mole enabled Dionysius to push up his rams and other siege machines close to the walls of Motye, to lead his army across the strait and to begin the siege. The wretched Motyenes knew too well what awaited them at the hands of the Syracusans. They had themselves set an example of savage cruelty, which would only too surely be followed and exceeded; they fought, therefore, with the courage of despair. When Dionysius brought up his famous engines, his battering-rams, his catapults, his six-storied towers, these machines did all that he expected of them. The besieged set fire to the towers, but it was soon extinguished, and after a fearful struggle the rams battered down a part of the wall, and the besiegers rushed in, thinking that the city was won. But behind the walls they found the streets barricaded and the houses in a state of defence; so that their task was rather more difficult than in the first rush. Dionysius saw, however, that the

Motyenes must soon yield from very exhaustion; and he was careful not to try the endurance of his own men too far, and to keep them fresh for new assaults. Every evening, at sunset, he withdrew his wearied soldiers, that they might be refreshed for the work of the following day. The Motyenes were deceived by this pause in the assaults, and relaxed somewhat in their vigilance during the nights, which had for some time been undisturbed.

And so, one fatal night, the Thurian, Archylus, with a picked company of men, climbed by ladders over the half-ruined houses and took up a strong position inside the town. The Motyenes hurried to the spot and endeavoured to dislodge them, but came too late, for the best positions were now occupied by the foe. The main body of the enemy was now led across the dam, and the town was taken, though the resistance continued. The victorious army, infuriated by the long conflict, and by the memory of Selinus and Akragas, gave vent to their murderous passions, and butchered man, woman, and child without discrimination and without mercy. Dionysius himself would gladly have stayed the slaughter and would rather have made captives, whom he could have sold; but the soldiers paid no attention to his orders, and only a very few who took refuge in the temples were kept alive. These were sold as slaves; but a more terrible fate was prepared for Daimenes and other Greeks in the service of Carthage, who were all crucified!

The siege of Motye had occupied the greater part of this summer (396 B.C.), and Dionysius wished to return home with the main body of his army; but he left a garrison of Sicels in Motye, under the command of Biton, a Syracusan, and a hundred and twenty ships under Leptines, to watch the Carthaginians and to besiege the neighbouring towns of Segesta and Entella. Having made these dispositions, he returned home.

CHAPTER XXVIII

NEW CARTHAGINIAN WAR

LEPTINES, when left by Dionysius to attack the towns of Segesta and Entella, had little success; for they defended themselves with the utmost courage and no little skill. The Segestans even made a sally in the night and burnt Leptines' camp and stores of every kind. The two towns were not yet captured when Dionysius returned in the following spring of 396 B.C. (Olympiad 96-1). He then attacked Halicyæ but made no further progress.

Meantime, the Carthaginians had recovered from their first consternation, and had now completed their armament. Himilcon was again in the field with an enormous force, variously computed, by Timæus at 100,000 from Africa and 30,000 from Sicily; and by Ephorus at 300,000 foot, 4000 horse, 400 war-chariots, 400 ships of war, and 600 transports! Dionysius had spies in Carthage, men of the highest rank, one of whom wrote to him in Greek warning him of the preparations in Carthage. Himilcon was aware of this, and had the spies punished as traitors; he also procured the enactment of a law forbidding all citizens of Carthage to learn Greek! He gave sealed orders to the pilots that the ships of war were to keep away from the coast, as they sailed along it, except at Panormus, or at Lilybæum. But Dionysius was near

Panormus when the Carthaginian transports came in sight, and he immediately despatched Leptines, with thirty triremes, to attack them. Leptines destroyed fifty of them, with five thousand men and two hundred war-chariots; the rest escaped into the harbour of Panormus, where they were joined by Himilcon and the triremes. Dionysius then marched to Segesta, while Himilcon disembarked his forces and led them to Motye. On his way he recaptured Eryx and Motye, with apparently little resistance from the Sicel garrison, who had no heart for the defence.

The army of Dionysius was quite prepared for a general battle, and the soldiers were greatly incensed against him when he resolved to return to Syracuse. What, they asked, had been gained by such stupendous efforts, by such an army and such a fleet as had never yet been seen? No doubt the humiliation of this retreat was the cause of the subsequent outbreak against the tyrant.

Himilcon, who might justly consider himself as victor, instead of trying to recover Selinus and Himera, as might have been expected, turned his arms against Messene, a city hitherto unplundered, and little prepared for defence. His treaties with Thermæ and Cephaloidion had prepared the way. On his way to the harbour of Messene, which was large enough to receive the whole Carthaginian fleet, he took possession of the island of Lipara, and made it pay thirty talents for being exempt from taxation. He then proceeded to the promontory of Pelorus (at the north entrance of the Straits of Messina), where he pitched his camp.

The walls of Messene were, as has been said, in a bad condition of repair; and her cavalry were in the army of Dionysius. The sudden appearance of so vast an army as Himilcon's terrified the Messenians; and the more careful among them sent away their families and their most valuable property to Rhegium. But the mass of the people put confidence in an ancient oracle which predicted that "the Carthaginians should one

day carry water in Messene"; which the soothsayers interpreted to mean that they should be slaves to the Messenians. The Carthaginian fleet now entered the harbour full sail, running before a favourable north wind. Himilcon learnt that the Messenian troops had gone on to Pelorus and had not yet returned, and therefore ordered an immediate attack by land, and forced his way into the city with no great difficulty. The inhabitants fled in all directions, some to friendly towns, others to outlying forts on the hills, built as a defence against the Sicels; some two hundred of them attempted to swim across the strait to Italy, and fifty succeeded.

Himilcon then attempted to take the hill-forts, but failed; he therefore destroyed the town in order that it might no longer be a useful ally to Dionysius; and this was so effectually done that scarcely one stone was left upon another; and yet, how soon do we find it restored! The Sicels now brought their homage and assistance to him; they had submitted to Dionysius a few years before; now they preferred even the Carthaginian rule to his. The tyrant had assigned to them the town and territory of the ruined Naxos; whence, from hatred to him, the inhabitants had moved to the neighbouring hill of Taurus, where the first Greek colonists had touched the shore of Sicily. Himilcon aided them in this migration, and encouraged them to build a fortified position on Mount Taurus, around which the city of Tauromenium (now Taormina) afterwards arose. The Carthaginians were so deeply interested in this operation that they sent Magon with the fleet to assist the settlement.

Dionysius, greatly troubled by the destruction of Messene, set to work to defend Syracuse on her northern frontier. Naxos and Catana were no longer fortified; and he persuaded the Campanians whom he had settled in Catana to migrate to the town of Ætna. He made his strongest position in Leontini, whose fortifications he greatly strengthened, and provisioned

its outlying forts. He had now only thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, with a fleet of one hundred and eighty ships, but of which only sixty were manned, and that by liberated slaves. It is difficult to account for this melting away of the vast force he had so lately led from Syracuse. No doubt his ignominious retreat before Himilcon had caused the defection of his allies. He sent an urgent petition to Sparta for a thousand mercenaries. Meantime, it was urgently necessary to defend the Syracusan territory; and he marched his land force towards Catana, accompanied by his fleet sailing near the shore.

The Carthaginians, too, were moving towards Catana on their way to attack Syracuse. Magon, their admiral, was ordered to sail along the coast from Taurus to Catana, while Himilcon proposed to march his army along the shore, in touch with the ships. But this plan of campaign was frustrated by an extraordinary incident. A mighty stream of lava suddenly burst forth from the crater of Mount *Ætna*, pouring down to the sea, which compelled him to make a circuit of the mountain. He was thus, for two or three days, cut off from the fleet, under Magon, which was sailing southward to Catana.

Dionysius saw his opportunity and ordered Leptines to attack the Carthaginian fleet, immense as it was in numbers; including transports, about five hundred vessels. Leptines was told to keep his small force well together; but he rashly attacked with only thirty ships in advance of the others. At first it seemed as if this bold onslaught would prove successful, and he destroyed several of the enemy's rearward vessels. But the hostile fleet, with its vastly superior numbers, was soon enabled to completely surround the Syracusans. A furious hand-to-hand engagement ensued, as there was no room for manœuvring, till Leptines made his escape seaward; the rest of his fleet, coming up too late, was also defeated after a desperate combat. The

Syracusans fled to land or to the high sea, as best they could ; and in the end they lost about a hundred vessels and twenty thousand men, captured or destroyed. The waves and the shore were strewn with bodies of the slain and fragments of wrecked or shattered ships.

The loss of his fleet intimidated Dionysius ; and though his land force had suffered no loss in this conflict, he determined to return to Syracuse, to the great disgust of his soldiers. It so happened that stormy weather compelled the Carthaginian admiral to draw in his own fleet, as well as the prizes he had taken, to the land, so that if Dionysius, with his fresh, undamaged land force, had remained on the shore, he might have attacked the crews of the enemy's ships, with every chance of destroying them. This was pointed out to him by many of his soldiers, but others urged that Himilcon might take advantage of the delay and sail with his victorious fleet to attack Syracuse while she was denuded of her defenders.

Dionysius wavered for a time and seemed half-inclined to yield to the wishes of his men ; but he soon recurred to his first resolution and gave orders for the march home, in spite of the loud protests of his Sicilian allies, many of whom left him in disgust.

Himilcon tried to seduce the Campanians at *Ætna* from their allegiance to Dionysius, promising them an addition to their territory and a share of booty. So strong was the feeling against Dionysius among them, as well as among many of the Sicilian Greeks, that they would gladly have joined the Carthaginians, if they had not given hostages to Syracuse.

CHAPTER XXIX

CARTHAGINIAN SIEGE OF SYRACUSE

DIONYSIUS reached Syracuse without opposition, but with a much diminished and greatly disheartened army. He brought back neither honour nor plunder, and found the Syracusans in the worst possible temper. To repair the losses in his fleet and army, he sent his brother-in-law, Polyxenus, to Sparta and Corinth with ample funds to engage recruits; and this endeavour was so successful that in a short time he returned with thirty-two ships of war, under the command of Pharacidas, a Lacedæmonian.

The Carthaginians, meanwhile, enjoyed a few days' repose, untroubled by the retreating Dionysius. Then Himilcon led his refreshed and victorious forces to Syracuse. He made a pompous entry into the Great Harbour, ostentatiously displaying the number of ships which he had captured off Catana. Two hundred and eight ships first rowed in, adorned with the spoils of the Syracusans. These were followed by fifteen hundred transports, bearing either soldiers or machines of war and stores. From the other side came Himilcon with his army, stated by some authors at 300,000 foot (!) and 3000 horse; he pitched his camp to the north of the Temple of Zeus Olympius, about twelve stadia, or a mile and a half, from the city. He then drew up his forces in order of battle

and advanced towards the city; at the same time the fleet, divided into squadrons, each of a hundred ships, rowed along the fronts of the two interior docks. But the Syracusans were not to be drawn out to an engagement.

Himilcon, therefore, had to spend a month in futile devastations of their territory, which he allowed his troops to pillage and lay waste to their hearts' content. He did not attempt to storm the city because of the great number of its defenders, the excellence of the fortifications, and the powerful war machines, especially the catapults, which inspired great terror in the Carthaginians. He was obliged to resort to the slow process of blockade; and for this purpose he fortified the temple of Olympian Zeus, and raised two other forts; one at Cape Plemmyrion, opposite to Ortygia at the entrance to the Great Harbour, and the other on the Great Harbour itself, in the small bay called Dascon, between Plemmyrion and the Olympeion. He occupied Neapolis too, by which he did not gain much advantage, and ran a wall all round his camp, the materials for which he obtained by demolishing the tombs in the cemetery; among which was the splendid monument raised to the memory of Gelon and his consort, Demarete.

The value of Dionysius' skilful fortification of Epipolæ was now fully seen; for, so far as we know, Himilcon never climbed the cliff or got upon the slope of Epipolæ. Practically speaking, he was confined to the Great Harbour and the low lands about it, to the south of Epipolæ; and the Syracusans could still communicate with the country around, by Euryelus and by the Hexapylos, the gate of Dionysius' fortification on the north cliff.

In spite of the great superiority of his fleet, Himilcon was unable to prevent the store-ships from bringing in supplies to the Syracusans, even by sea; and in the desultory skirmishing which took place the latter generally had the advantage. A more important

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engagement soon took place. The Syracusans saw a corn-ship of Himilcon's fleet entering the harbour. They quickly manned five triremes, with which they fell upon the vessel, captured and carried it off to their own dock. The Carthaginians sent forty ships to prevent the capture; but the Syracusans sailed out with their whole fleet and completely defeated the enemy, capturing the admiral's ship, crippling twenty-four others, and chasing the rest to the Carthaginian station; before which the Syracusans paraded and offered battle, which was not accepted. This fortunate change in the position of the Syracusans took place in the absence of Dionysius, and led to momentous consequences for both ruled and ruler. The victory was especially welcome to *them*, because it had been won without *him*. "See!" they cried, "whenever Dionysius commands us, we are beaten; when he is away, we conquer!" What else but his supposed daring and skill in war could have made them tolerate so odious a tyrant?

Dionysius thought it advisable to call an assembly; but he found it by no means so pliant as usual, for he had been obliged to restore their arms. He expected, no doubt, that after congratulating them upon their victory, he should be able to avoid all inconvenient discussion, and to dismiss them, as he had been wont to do, with courteous phrases.

But a knight named Theodorus, a man of great wealth and high character, thought that the time was come to speak the truth. No doubt he expressed the general feeling of his countrymen, for Dionysius was universally hated by all except his satellites, mercenaries, and slaves. And, though we cannot suppose that the Sicilian historian Diodorus gives us the *ipsissima verba* of Theodorus, in the long speech ascribed to him, it probably expresses the sense of his philippic. "Dionysius," he said, "is more to be feared than the Carthaginians! For he has robbed us of our property and our freedom! He has brought upon our

city the wrath of the gods by pillaging their temples. He has murdered or banished our richest citizens, and given their goods to mercenaries and slaves, with whom he has garrisoned our citadel against us. In fatal madness we appointed him sole general, because we thought he would lead us to victory against our external foes; and he has used his power to make us the slaves of his slaves. And now, what has he shown but incompetence and treachery? On more than one occasion it was in his power to destroy the Carthaginians. But, instead of destroying our enemies, he has treacherously betrayed Gela and Camarina to them, and allowed Messene to fall into their hands. He has taken away our arms, and has only given them back under the strain of necessity. Shall we not use them to regain our freedom?" Theodorus further said, and no doubt he thought, that the Spartans and Corinthians would help them to overthrow the tyrant. It was true that the Corinthians would have done this; but the degenerate Spartans cared nothing for freedom, and even preferred to deal with tyrants.

After Theodorus, the Spartan envoy, Pharacidas, with whom Dionysius had established the most friendly relations, rose and addressed the assembly. To their bitter disappointment—for they had still looked on Sparta as a champion of freedom—he not only failed to support Theodorus, but spoke strongly in favour of the despot, saying, too, that he himself had been sent to fight against the Carthaginians, and not to depose Dionysius. Thus all the hopes of the Syracusans were dashed, for Sparta was then omnipotent. Dionysius was thus saved from the peril which seemed to threaten his throne and person. He was well aware of the imminent danger from which Pharacidas had rescued him, and tried every means of conciliating the citizens by affability, by rich presents, and by inviting them to his luxurious table. But his object of reinstating himself in the favour of

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the Syracusans was far more powerfully aided by a fortunate turn in the condition of the siege.

For, after all, it was not by Dionysius, or by his allies, the Spartans and Corinthians, or by any other mere human agency, that Syracuse was saved from the Carthaginians, but by the dread goddesses, Demeter and Persephone (Ceres and Proserpine), whose temple in Neapolis had been impiously pillaged by Himilcon, and who now visited the Carthaginian camp with a fearful pestilence. The wrath of the goddesses was seconded by the extreme unhealthiness of the site of the camp, pitched as it was in marshy ground, and by the sultry heat of autumn, which was even more scorching than usual. As the Carthaginian force was chiefly composed of mercenaries and subject African tribes, little care was taken of their health or comfort; and their uncleanly habits contributed greatly to the spread of the disease. It soon became impossible to attend to the wants of the sick or to bury the dead. According to the estimate of Diodorus—exaggerated no doubt—the air was congested with the stench of more than 150,000 decaying and putrefying human bodies! The whole army of Himilcon was prostrated and rendered powerless by this awful visitation; and as the Syracusans, wonderful to relate! were untouched by the pestilence, it seemed easy enough to destroy their enemy by a vigorous onslaught.

Dionysius, who as usual was thinking more of the confirmation of his own power than the safety of Syracuse, organised his plans accordingly. He ordered Leptines and Pharacidas, with the ships of war, to commence the attack on the station of the Carthaginian fleet at daybreak; while he himself led his troops by night out of the city by Epipclæ and Euryelus, and made a circuit, until he came to the temple of Cyane, on the other side of the Anapus. Then he sent his cavalry, with a thousand mercenaries on foot, to begin the attack on the Carthaginian camp.

This particular body of foot-soldiers was the object of his suspicious fears; it had more than once shown itself refractory and mutinous. These men he ordered up to the assault, in conjunction with the cavalry; but gave secret orders to the latter, when they saw the mercenaries fully engaged, to desert them and retreat. This was done; and the obnoxious foot-soldiers were totally destroyed by the Carthaginians.

Dionysius then attacked the Carthaginian forts—first Polichne, and then Dascon—with complete success. Meantime, the Syracusan fleet came out of its docks to attack the enemy's naval station. The Carthaginian ships were, of course, badly manned, and were taken by surprise. Before the unfortunate sailors could get on board, the Syracusan triremes and quinqueremes, with their solid brazen beaks, ran crashing into the sides of the Carthaginian ships with a din that was heard at a great distance. The Syracusans boarded the enemy's ships and drove out the few defenders; the victors pursued, and soon the shore was filled with scattered wrecks and slaughtered sailors. Dionysius, too, from the land side, pressed forward, and set fire to forty of the enemy's warships. The conflagration spread to the transports, and forced the sailors to leave them, with their costly cargoes, to perish in a raging sea of fire.

The triumphant Syracusans contemplated this scene with feverish joy. The non-combatants, women and children in the city, mounted to the roofs of their houses and offered loud prayers of gratitude to the Gods, who had so signally destroyed their foe. So elated were they that old men and boys pushed off in boats to gather up the valuables which had fallen from the ships, and towed the abandoned but still useful vessels into the harbour.

Completely victorious by sea and land, Dionysius withdrew his troops at nightfall and encamped round the temple of Olympian Zeus. Himilcon, now seeing that there was no chance of his recovering lost ground

or even defending his camp, began to negotiate. He sent a secret messenger to Dionysius, unknown to the Syracusans, offering him three hundred talents if Dionysius would allow him to embark his troops, without hindrance or molestation, and sail to Africa. Dionysius knew that the Syracusans would not ratify such an agreement, and publicly refused. But he consented to let Himilcon and the Carthaginian chiefs escape by night without hindrance. Forty ships, therefore, carrying Carthaginians only, put to sea by night, with all possible secrecy and silence. But the Corinthian sailors got to know of their departure, and, after informing Dionysius, who intentionally moved as slowly as possible, they manned their own ships, overtook a few of the slowest transports, and destroyed them. Himilcon escaped, with the rest of his ships, to Carthage.

The secret departure of their general spread the greatest consternation through the Punic camp. The heterogeneous mass of men, who were thus deserted, were without any cohesion, any bond of unity, and had no commanders to whom they owed obedience. The Sicels at once marched off to their own territory, before the Syracusans had barred the roads. Other sections of the Carthaginian forces, who attempted to force a passage, were slain. The majority threw down their arms and surrendered, were taken captive, and sold as slaves. The Iberians alone stood on the defensive, and only yielded upon condition that they should be received into the service of Dionysius upon an equal footing with his other mercenaries, to which the tyrant readily agreed.

Himilcon, on his return to Carthage, found that city in the depths of sorrow and humiliation. He knew the fate which awaited him, but made no attempt to excuse himself, and declared that he alone was responsible; that it was he who, by his own impious neglect of the Gods, had drawn down their wrath upon himself and his country. Clothed in the

vilest garments of a slave, he wandered from altar to altar, deploring his crimes and praying for his city; he was followed by an angry and weeping crowd of the bereaved, demanding of him the lives of their husbands, sons, and brothers. To all he answered with a mournful: "I have sinned; I have sinned!" At last, weary and despairing, seeing that nothing was before him but a horrible death by crucifixion, he returned to his own house, blocked the doors, and starved himself to death.

But the troubles of the Carthaginians were by no means ended. Their Libyan subjects, always eager to throw off the heavy yoke of their tyrannical masters, took advantage of the destruction of the army before Syracuse, and rose in rebellion. Their ever-smouldering wrath was fanned to a blaze by the shameful treatment of their countrymen, whom Himilcon had abandoned to the Syracusans, and none of whom had yet returned. For once the Libyan towns were united by a common feeling—the thirst for revenge; and they collected a force of one hundred and twenty thousand, freemen and slaves. They fixed their headquarters at Tunes (Tunis), not far from Carthage, and soon obliged the Carthaginian troops to take refuge in the city. All seemed lost. The Carthaginians attributed their ruin to the wrath of Demeter and Persephone (Ceres and Proserpine), who, not appeased by the holocaust of the mighty army in Sicily, were about to sweep Carthage off the face of the earth. The first thing to do, therefore, was to mitigate the anger of the terrible Goddesses. If Himilcon had sinned against their own God, they would have known how to act. They would have sacrificed the most beautiful children of their noblest citizens, and the precious offering would have been accepted. But now it was two Grecian divinities who had been outraged; and the Carthaginians understood neither their nature nor their tastes and requirements. No time was to be lost. They immediately built temples to the two

Goddesses for the first time in their history; appointed some of their noblest citizens as priests; and consulted the Greeks dwelling in Carthage as to the rites to be observed. It was not till they had thus soothed their terror-stricken consciences that they could turn their attention to the war with their rebellious subjects. It soon became evident that the Goddesses were no longer hostile. The insurgents, having no fleet, were soon without means of subsistence; their numerous leaders quarrelled about precedence and the chief command; and the mighty host, so lately irresistible, quickly melted away; and the wretched Libyans once more fell into hopeless servitude to their arbitrary and cruel rulers.

CHAPTER XXX

DIONYSIUS EXTENDS HIS POWER

Now that Dionysius was freed, by the aid of Demeter and Persephone, from the most formidable of the Carthaginian invasions, we might expect to read that he marched against the three great cities in Sicily still possessed by the Carthaginians—Motye, Panormus, and Segesta. But it was not so; for some unexplained reason he refrained from irritating Carthage too much, as we saw in the comparatively easy terms he offered to Himilcon; and as we now see again, in his neglecting the opportunity of driving the Carthaginians from every corner of Sicily.

The key to his often enigmatical conduct may perhaps be generally found in his dominant desire to establish and preserve his own despotic rule. He dreaded the Syracusan exiles in Rhegium far more than the now powerless Carthaginians. The former had secret allies in Syracuse itself; the latter were harmless for the present. He therefore turned his thoughts towards "*Magna Græcia*."

But before he could engage in foreign warfare he had much to do at home. The mercenaries in Syracuse, the sole foundation of his power, were well aware how indispensable they were to Dionysius, and presumed upon that knowledge, and expected to be humoured and petted like spoilt children. We have

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seen how he rid himself of the thousand suspected mercenaries, by allowing them to be butchered by the Carthaginians. The men of his present force were furious, because he was unable to pay them their enormous wages. Dionysius thought to intimidate them by seizing their leader, the Spartan Aristoteles; but his soldiers broke out into open mutiny, and crowded round his palace, loudly demanding the release of their commander and the immediate payment of their arrears. In great alarm, the tyrant offered them, in lieu of pay, the rich city and territory of Leontini.

The mercenaries were delighted, and marched off, to the number of ten thousand, to take possession of the most fruitful soil in the island. We are not told what became of the inhabitants thus bartered away by the unscrupulous tyrant.

He now set forth to re-establish Messene as a point from which to attack Rhegium and Magna Græcia. In this town he planted a thousand Locrians, four thousand Medimnæans, and six thousand Peloponnesian Messenians, who had been expelled by Sparta from Zacynthus and Naupactus. But Sparta loudly protested against the admission of these last, the Peloponnesians, into a city of note bearing the name of Messene, their old city in Greece; and Dionysius was obliged to give up this part of his plan. As a compensation, he assigned to them a part of the Abacene territory, and called the new town which they founded there by the name of Tyndaris.

He then marched into the territory of the Sicels who had served in the Carthaginian army against Syracuse. He gained the alliance of Agyris and Damon, the rulers of Agyrium and Centoripæ; and the towns of Henna and Cephalcedium, and the Carthaginian Solous, were betrayed to him by their inhabitants; he took Smeneon and Morgantina by force, and made friends with Herbessus, Herbita, and Assorus. He thus acquired a commanding position

in the north-eastern part of Sicily, and, by the possession of Messene, control over the straits.

The Rhegines saw with alarm the new settlement of Messene by the partisans of Dionysius, and his steady advance against themselves. The exiles not only from Syracuse, but from Naxos, Catana, and other towns, had crossed over into Italy, and were well received both at Croton and at Rhegium. One of them, Heloris, a former friend of the Syracusan tyrant, had been appointed general of the Rhegine army, at that time of considerable strength, and supported by a fleet of seventy triremes. Confident in this force, and with their patriotic ardour, they even ventured to cross the strait and lay siege to Messene, and to settle the Naxian and Catanian exiles on the north coast of Sicily, not far from Messene. But Heloris was repulsed with loss from Messene, and the Naxian settlers at Mylæ were quickly expelled.

Having thus regained command of the strait, Dionysius would have liked to commence the siege of Rhegium at once. But fearing to leave enemies in his rear, he thought it necessary first to take the new Sikel town of Tauromenium. It was on the hill Taurus that the first Greek colonists had established themselves, from which they gradually drove the Sicels out of the best parts of the island. Hence an hereditary hatred of the intruders was cherished by the Tauromenians, who were resolved to die rather than yield. The place was enormously strong by nature, as those who have visited the modern Taormina must know. So eager was Dionysius to capture this hill town, that he pressed the siege even during the winter months, when the top of Mount Taurus was covered with snow. But the Sicels were equally determined, and resisted all his attacks with the courage of despair. Wearied by his fruitless efforts, he resolved on storming the place by night, when there was no moon. Successfully clambering over the snowy slope of the citadel (*hodie*, Castello di

Taormina), he seized a fortified position, one of the two parts into which the fortification was divided. Thence, he attacked the second part; but the Sicels drove him off, and compelled the besiegers to rush down the hill in the greatest haste and confusion; six hundred of them were slain; and the others escaped only by throwing away their arms. Dionysius himself was thrown down by a thrust from a lance, and was only saved from death by his cuirass; he was picked up by his men, and had to leave his arms behind him. He raised the siege at once; and it was long before he recovered from his wound, and from a temporary blindness, caused by the snow.

His defeat, by so inconsiderable a town, excited the greatest astonishment, and roused his enemies, in every part of the island, to open resistance. The Agrigentines threw off the hegemony of Syracuse, and declared themselves independent; and many other places followed their example. The Sicels, too, proud of their Tauromenian brethren, deserted the side of Syracuse, and joined that of the Carthaginians, who again, under Mago, took the field in Sicily. Mago's army was reinforced by many Greek exiles, and he felt himself strong enough to ravage the Messenian territory; after which he returned to Abacena. Then Dionysius, with a superior force, attacked and defeated Mago, who lost eight hundred men, and was forced to retire to the west of Sicily, and to await reinforcements from Carthage.

Dionysius did not follow him, but returned to Syracuse, to prepare for the conquest of Rhegium, which lay very near his heart. After no long delay, he sailed out of Syracuse with a hundred triremes, and so skilfully concealed his movements that he arrived by night under the very walls of Rhegium, before the citizens were aware of his approach. As he had done before at Syracuse, he piled firewood against the gates, and set it on fire. Heloris, at first, tried to extinguish the flames; but soon, changing his

mind, he brought an enormous mass of fuel from the neighbouring houses and kindled so terrible a conflagration that the besiegers were driven back, and the surprised citizens had time to mount their walls. Once more thwarted and defeated, Dionysius returned to Syracuse.

His return no doubt was accelerated by the news that the Carthaginians were again in Sicily, with an army of eighty thousand men, mostly mercenaries. Contrary to the usual custom of the Carthaginian generals, Mago did not march along the coast, in touch with the fleet, but through the centre of the island, and was joined by many Sicel towns. But Agyrium, the most important of them, resisted him; while the tyrant of the place, Agyris, allied himself with his brother despot, Dionysius, supplying him with abundant provisions. Dionysius came with twenty thousand men to the assistance of Agyris against his subjects. He found Mago encamped on the river Chrysus, between Agyrium and Morgantina. Knowing the difficulty in which Mago had placed himself by his distance from the sea in an enemy's country, Dionysius wisely resolved to avoid a battle, and to reduce the enemy by starvation. But his army were by no means pleased with the slow and wearisome method of blockade; they demanded to be led at once against the Carthaginian camp. Dionysius refused, and confined his military operations to intercepting the supplies of the Carthaginians by his cavalry; whereupon the Syracusans left the camp in disgust, to the great alarm of Dionysius. He had no resource but to order a levy of slaves to fill the place of the mutinous Syracusans. Just at this crisis the Carthaginians, now reduced to the greatest straits by their want of provisions, sent envoys to negotiate a peace. Dionysius, whose position was also extremely precarious, gladly accepted these overtures, on condition of their abandoning to him all the Sicel towns, and especially Tauromenium, which had so gallantly

resisted him. Mago returned to Carthage; and Dionysius at once marched against Tauromenium. No longer able to withstand or repel his increased force, it was quickly captured; the Sicels were driven out, and their place was filled by partisans of the tyrant.

With his position in Sicily thus greatly strengthened, Dionysius again turned his attention to the subjugation of Magna Græcia. The once rich and powerful cities of Southern Italy were greatly weakened by the incursions of the Samnites. In 420 B.C. those hardy warriors had taken the city of Capua and the rich Campanian plain; and, in 416 B.C., had reduced the neighbouring city of Cumæ, and, probably, the Hellenic settlements of Neapolis and Dicæarchia. But the greatest migration of this powerful and enterprising people was more to the south-east, towards the Gulf of Tarentum and the Straits of Messene. In these territories they had established a formidable power under the name of "Lucanians," a name first adopted about 430 B.C. In 392 B.C. these Lucanians, having first taken Posidonia (Pæstum) and Lâus, began to trouble the important city of Thurii, to the terror of all the Italiot cities, down to Rhegium. The common danger led them all, with the important exception of Locri, to form a strict alliance, by which each city bound itself to assist any other confederate city against the Lucanians. But the Italiot Greeks were equally afraid of the hostile designs of Dionysius, and were thus placed between two fires. Dionysius saw at once that the invasion of the Lucanians from the north was conducive to the success of his own advance from the south; and so, drawn together by a common enmity, he and the Lucanians formed a close alliance. He tried to persuade the other Siceliot Greeks that his projects were directed against Rhegium alone, which had so deeply insulted him by refusing his offer to marry a Rhegine maiden. There was, greatly to his advantage, an ancient and very bitter feud between Rhegium and Locri.

In 390 B.C. (Olympiad 97-3), Dionysius, with twenty thousand foot, a thousand horse, and a hundred triremes, proceeded to the friendly Locri, and encamped in the neighbourhood of that city. The Greek cities of Italy were bound by solemn treaty to assist in the defence of Rhegium, and Croton sent sixty ships. Dionysius, with fifty ships of larger size and better equipment, sailed out to meet them; and the Crotoniate admiral, not daring to face him, made for the shore. Dionysius followed him, and was about to tow off the ships deserted by their crews, when the whole force of the Rhegine army rushed from the city, saved the ships and hauled them up on the shore. Dionysius, again baffled, was retiring with his fleet when a fearful storm overtook him, by which seven of his ships were driven on shore, and fifteen hundred sailors either drowned or captured by the Rhegines. Dionysius himself, in his quinquereme, with the rest of the fleet, escaped into the harbour of Messene at midnight. Thwarted and disappointed, the tyrant returned to Syracuse with little booty and less glory; but Leptines was ordered to proceed with the fleet northward to the Gulf of Elea, and cooperate with the Lucanians who were attacking Thurii. The Thurians sent for help to all the other allied towns, but did not wait for its arrival. They sallied forth with their own native force, fourteen thousand foot and a thousand horse, and the Lucanians retreated. Then they took a Lucanian fort with rich plunder, and were so inspirited by this success that they passed through the mountain country, southward, to the sea-coast, with the intention of assaulting Läs, which was then held by the Lucanians. But the Lucanians, who had purposely led them into the midst of the intricate mountain passes, surrounded the Thurian army in a valley shut in by steep cliffs on all sides, there rushed upon them and slew ten thousand of their fourteen thousand men, no quarter being given; the remnant fled to a hill by

the sea-side. From that height they saw ships passing, not far from the shore. Naturally mistaking them for Rhegine vessels, many of the Thurians swam out to them and found, to their horror, that these vessels were the Syracusan fleet commanded by Leptines. To their great surprise and relief, they were most generously treated by Leptines, who also persuaded the Lucanians to release their captives for a ransom of one mina a head (about £4 sterling). This generous action, of course, won for Leptines the highest esteem among the Thurians and all the Italiot Greeks, but brought upon him the wrath of his master, the cruel tyrant, Dionysius, who at once dismissed him, and appointed his other brother, Thearides, in his stead.

Dionysius now arranged a fresh expedition, with twenty thousand foot soldiers and three thousand cavalry, to subdue the Greek cities of Southern Italy. He marched first, in five days, from Syracuse to Messene, and was joined by the fleet, under Thearides, forty triremes and three hundred transports. Thearides was then sent on to the Lipara island, where he found ten Rhegine ships; these he captured, with their crews, who were imprisoned at Messene. Then Dionysius crossed the straits to Caulonia, on the coast of Italy, and attacked that place with his famous siege machines. The Italiot Greeks, now thoroughly roused, came to its assistance. Their centre of union was Croton, in which very many Syracusan exiles were gathered. They appointed Heloris sole commander of the united Italiot forces, which amounted to 25,000 foot and 2000 horse. Heloris marched from Croton, southward to the river Elleporus, near Caulonia, where Dionysius, having hastily raised the siege, and went to meet him. Dionysius, having learnt that Heloris, with five hundred picked men, was reconnoitring in front of his army, threw himself with all his force upon this isolated troop; and Heloris, instead of retreating, sent hasty messengers to call his main army to the rescue. It

was too late, and his division was cut to pieces, Heloris himself being among the slain. The rest of the Italiot army arrived in haste and confusion, and were easily broken and put to flight. They retreated to a hill in the neighbourhood, a very strong position, which they might have defended, but on which there was no water. Dionysius did not waste the lives of his own men by attacking them, but blockaded them on every side, and left heat and thirst to do the work. They soon offered to surrender on ransom, which he refused; and then, at last, they surrendered unconditionally.

The defenceless captive Greeks, to the number of ten thousand, then came down the hill and were paraded before Dionysius, to whom they might have cried, like the Roman gladiators, "*Morituri te salutamus!*" for they knew him too well to look for mercy. What, then, was their astonishment and joy, when he granted them the most generous terms, allowing them to depart to their respective cities, with which, he said, he desired to live at peace! The rescued men hailed Dionysius with shouts of grateful joy, and voted crowns and garlands to the victor for his clemency.

Having thus isolated the doomed city of Rhegium, he again marched his army back to Rhegium and prepared to gratify his vengeance on the inhabitants for refusing him a Rhegine wife. The unhappy citizens, dismayed by the destruction of their allies, sought to appease him by humility, and piteously entreated him not to subject them to inhuman treatment. After some delay he granted them terms of peace, for the moment, upon condition of their surrendering to him their seventy ships, paying three hundred talents, and delivering a hundred hostages into his hands. The helpless Rhegines at once complied.

In the year 388 B.C. Dionysius marched against Caulonia on the eastern coast of Calabria, and against Hipponium, near the western coast; they made no

resistance, and he destroyed both towns, sending the inhabitants to Syracuse as "citizens," *i.e.* subjects of his despotism, with five years' exemption from taxation. Their territory he gave to his favourite Locrians, who were thereby greatly enriched.

But his savage hatred of Rhegium was not yet satisfied. He then marched to the Italian shore of the strait, pretending to be about to cross over into Sicily, and sent a friendly request to the Rhegines to supply him with provisions, promising to replace them. They complied at first, but when the demands were repeated, they detected his treacherous purpose of starving them, and refused. Dionysius then brought up his battering-rams and tried to effect a breach in the walls, but he was everywhere repulsed by the brave defenders, who sallied forth and burnt his machines, and Dionysius himself was wounded in the groin. He made no progress; for the Rhegines defended their city with desperate valour, and he was obliged to change the siege into a blockade, and trust to famine to break their spirit.

In spite of the increasing scarcity of food they held out for eleven months, without help from outside. Every animal was slaughtered, and even the hides were greedily devoured; the grass in the streets was boiled for food. More than a thousand died of hunger, and their unburied corpses lay about the streets, and at last the pale, emaciated, strengthless survivors surrendered at discretion. On entering the city Dionysius saw, without remorse, the piled-up heaps of dead and the six thousand pale ghosts of living men who came forward to learn their doom. He loved money, above all things, as the only support of his ruthless tyranny; he therefore ransomed those who could pay a mina a head, and sold the rest for slaves.

But his savage fury fell with full force on the unfortunate Rhegine general, Phyton, who had so long, so skilfully and bravely, resisted all attacks on

the city. He caused the unhappy man to be chained to one of the loftiest machines as a spectacle to his army. Then he announced to him that his son had been drowned by his orders; to this Phyton replied: "Then *he* is, by one day, more fortunate than his father!" After a time the sufferer was taken down and led through the city by Dionysius' myrmidons, who flogged and insulted him at every step, while a herald proclaimed: "Behold the man who induced the Rhegines to fight!" But Phyton answered the herald by saying that he was tortured for refusing to betray his native country to Dionysius, who would soon feel the wrath of the offended Gods. Even Dionysius' own soldiers were disgusted by the scourging of Phyton; and the tyrant, fearing that he might be rescued, closed the horrible scene by ordering that he and all his family should be drowned. The historian, Diodorus, tells us that the death of this noble martyr to patriotism was sincerely and deeply regretted by the Greeks; and his untimely fate was sung by many a poet in after days in tender and pathetic strains. But the Gods were slow in punishing the cruelty and impiety of the odious tyrant; and his good fortune, such as it was, attended him to the end of his career. Dionysius destroyed the city of Rhegium, and gave its territory to the Locrians. The free inhabitants of the city were sent to Syracuse to be sold, for there were but few of them who could purchase their release.

The year 387 B.C. marks the highest point of the power of Syracuse. In the same year the peace of Antalcidas was proclaimed in Greece, and Rome was captured by the Gauls, who were, for the moment, all-powerful in Central Italy. The two great Hellenic powers at this period were Sparta, in old Greece, and Syracuse, in Sicily. The dominion of Syracuse underwent no very great extension after this date; the Carthaginians retained their territory in the west of the island; but the Greeks, the Sicans, and the Sicels

acknowledged the supremacy of Dionysius. Of the Carthaginian cities, Solœis was insignificant; but after the fall of Motye and Panormus assumed the first place; and Lilybæum (*hodie*, Marsala) began to flourish. We can hardly look upon Dionysius as a promoter of civilisation, for he now formed an alliance with the barbarian Gauls, being ready, as usual, to welcome any assistance to his self-aggrandisement. Yet he raised, unintentionally, a breakwater against the Punic tide; had it not been for a powerful Syracuse the Carthaginians would have made a conquering advance from the west, and the Persians from the east; and Hellenism would have been crushed between them.

Syracuse was the most populous city in the Hellenic world, and though she could not vie with Athens in the magnificence, still less in the beauty, of her public monuments, she was the best fortified of Hellenic cities. Dionysius had previously walled round Epipolæ on the north side; he now encircled the slope on the south side by a wall, and this included five populous townships within strong defences. He built temples and a gymnasium by the river Anapus, and many other public buildings in the city itself.

Having destroyed the hated Rhegium, Dionysius, in 387 B.C., turned his attention to Croton, which he seems to have taken, either by surprise or bribery, without much difficulty. Here, as in Rhegium, a great number of Syracusan exiles had taken refuge, who now fell into the hands of their merciless tyrant. He plundered the temple of Hera (Juno) near Cape Lacinium; and, among other precious ornaments, found there a very costly robe, the offering of Alcimedes, a Sybarite; Sybaris being renowned throughout the Grecian world for the taste and beauty of its rich embroidery. This garment he sold to the Carthaginians for the enormous sum of 120 talents (£27,600 sterling). We have seen how anxious the Carthaginians were to propitiate Greek deities, and they evidently thought that no price was

too great to secure so splendid an offering for their newly-built temple of Demeter (Ceres) and Cora. Considering the shameless audacity with which Dionysius profaned the sanctuaries and pillaged the treasuries of the "blessed Gods," we are surprised at their forbearing leniency towards the perpetrator of such impious deeds. In this case he robbed the mightiest of the Goddesses, the great Lacinian Hera, of her most magnificent robe, and transferred it to a new temple of other Goddesses in an alien non-Hellenic land; yet Juno did not borrow the thunderbolts of Zeus!

Croton was the last conquest of Dionysius; for his attack on Thurii failed, though he sent three hundred ships against that city, nearly all of which were destroyed by a violent north wind, and the city was saved. To show their gratitude for this signal deliverance the Thurians made Boreas a full citizen and gave him house and land.

The rapid advance of Dionysius, however, in Southern Italy obliged the Syracusan exiles to flee farther and farther from his long arm. A considerable section of them went high up the Adriatic Gulf, and founded, or found, the town of Ancona. In alliance with the Illyrians, Dionysius sent a fleet to the other side of the Adriatic Gulf, and made some settlements. He was encouraged in these enterprises by Alcetas, the exiled prince of the Molossians of Epirus, who had once resided in Syracuse. He founded the town of Lissus (*hodie*, Alessio) on the Illyrian coast, and helped the Parians in placing two settlements in the islands of Issa and Pharos. When the Illyrians, in their coasting boats, harassed the newly-settled Parians, Dionysius' admirals came to their assistance with his fleet, destroyed the little vessels of the barbarians, slew five thousand of them, and took two thousand prisoners. Yet with the Illyrian tribes near Issus he established friendly relations, and employed them in invading Epirus and reinstating Alcetas in his Molossian princi-

pality. Another object which Dionysius had much at heart was the pillage of the rich temple of Delphi, which seemed to him not very difficult to accomplish. He succeeded in restoring his friend Alcetas, after defeating the Molossians and slaying fifteen thousand of them in a bloody battle. But in his impious design on the temple at Delphi, he was thwarted by the Spartans, who sent a fleet to hinder the sacrilege.

About this time he made a maritime expedition to the coasts of Latium, Etruria, and Corsica, under various pretexts, but really with a view to plundering the holy temple of the Goddess Leucothea (or Eileithuia) at Agylla, in the harbour of Pyrgis, the ancient Cære. He entered the temple by night; the Agyllans hastened next morning to defend it, but were completely routed by Dionysius, who took rich plunder and many captives, which brought him in five hundred talents, in addition to the thousand talents of which he had robbed the Goddess. He then returned to Syracuse, well satisfied with his successful raid on men and Gods. His fame was now so great that the Gauls of Northern Italy offered him their alliance, which he accepted, with the hope of getting brave and hardy mercenaries from among them.

CHAPTER XXXI

LATER ACTS OF DIONYSIUS: HIS CHARACTER: HIS DEATH

THE successful villainy of Dionysius had raised him to a lofty pinnacle of power. He was master of almost all Sicily, and a great part of South Italy and of the coasts of the Tyrrhenian Sea; and he was the prevailing power in the Adriatic. He was now in the proud position of being able to send help to Sparta, his ancient ally in Greece, instead of receiving it; and though Syracuse was a colony of Corinth, Dionysius took the side of Sparta against her. Attempts were, indeed, made to separate Sicily from Sparta. Conon and his friend Euagoras sent three commissioners, Lysias, Aristocrates, and Eunomus, to try and win Dionysius to the side of Athens; and Euagoras offered him his daughter in marriage; but their overtures failed.

Dionysius took a very active part in the affairs of Greece and Persia, and on several occasions afforded efficient aid to Sparta. He was honoured, too, by Athens, which, in 368-7 B.C. (Olympiad 103-1), made an alliance with him, and conferred on him and his son the citizenship of that illustrious city. In 369 B.C. the Athenians sent an embassy to Syracuse, which saluted him with the title of the King of Sicily! But with all his power he had one vulnerable point. He

aimed at the reputation of being a great poet himself. As his tragedies are entirely lost we can only judge of their merit from the way in which they were received by his contemporaries; and, in this case, even that criterion fails us. The fact that he gained the first prize by one of his poems at the Lenæan festival of Athens seems to prove that his talents were by no means inconsiderable. How far the Athenians, generally so severe in their criticisms, were influenced by a desire to please a useful ally, we do not know. On the other hand, the bitter hatred which his cruelty, his perfidy, his impious sacrilege had excited against him, may have predetermined the Greeks to damn his verses, whatever their merit; and it was, perhaps, *his* badness, and not *theirs*, which caused the outbreak against them at Olympia.

Many stories are told relating to the vanity and childish irritability of Dionysius. The dithyrambic poet, Philoxenus, who lived at Syracuse, was asked his opinion of Dionysius' verses. After hearing a private recital of them he disapproved, and was sent to prison for his bad taste. Philoxenus is said to have written his poem, "Cyclops," while at the quarries, and to have represented Dionysius as Polyphemus.

Dionysius had a double object of ambition at Olympia; to conquer in the chariot race, and to have his poems recited before assembled Greece. He sent a splendid embassy (*θεωρία*) to Olympia, which surpassed all others in magnificence; the members of which were arrayed in the costliest robes and carried with them a gorgeously embroidered tent which they set upon the sacred field. He also sent several beautiful chariots, drawn by horses of the noblest breed, to contend for prizes in the race. That his poems might be recited in the most effective manner, he sent the most skilful reciters and the best trained choirs.

At first the recital was patiently listened to on account of the charming manner in which the verses

were sung. But soon the glamour passed away, and they began to inquire what manner of man it was who thus came forward, with more than royal pomp, to dazzle their eyes and confuse their judgment. When they learned that it was the hated despot of Syracuse they listened more attentively to the matter of the poems so beautifully recited, and found it utterly unworthy of the presumptuous pretension with which it was delivered. No doubt many of his victims from Rhegium, Caulonia, and Hipponium, were present, and they would not be slow to denounce the cruel despot who had devastated their homes and driven them into exile.

No wonder, then, that loud cries arose, of execration against the tyrant, and derision of his poems. The angry feelings of the mixed assembly found expression by the mouth of no less a person than the eloquent orator, Lysias, who was descended from Sicilian ancestors, had lived from his youth many years at Thurii, and had learnt oratory there from Tisias and Nicias. No one could be better informed of what Dionysius had done to the Greeks of Sicily and Italy.

"Greece," he said, "is on fire—at both ends! In the East, our brethren have been enslaved by the Great King; in the West, by the odious despot, Dionysius. These men are the two great potentates of the world, possessed of armies, fleets, and money. If they should join their forces they will extinguish all that remains of the freedom of Greece. The dissension of the Grecian cities has allowed them to grow to this height unopposed, but now it is time for these cities to unite and to check our further ruin. You, especially, O Lacedæmonians! who are the presiding power in Greece, should rise, to free Sicily from her chains, laid on her by this tyrant, and to check the further progress of the Persian king!" Finally, he conjured them to prevent the envoys of Dionysius entering his chariots for the competition or

joining in the sacrifices, or taking any part in the holy festival of united Greece.

Of course this bold speech of Lysias, though it was long remembered, had no political effect; but it aroused the wrath of the Olympic assembly. They attacked Thearides, the brother of Dionysius, appointed to be head of the embassy, and threatened to destroy his gorgeous tent, and to prevent his chariots competing in the race. It is said that the tent was actually plundered of some of its rich contents. But the Elian police would not allow any interference with the order of the Olympic games; and we learn that the chariots of Dionysius did run in the race, but that the horses bolted from the course and the chariots were dashed to pieces. So that the tyrant gained no honour and no prize, either in the field of literature or the stadium. We may imagine what an effect this humiliating failure must have had upon the susceptible and jealous temper of a man accustomed to hear nothing but exaggerated laudation from his dependents and slaves. He was not himself present at Olympia; but the mere report of what had happened there caused him the keenest anguish. That passionate outburst of hatred from the representatives of the whole Grecian world made him aware of the odious light in which he was regarded, and it wounded him to the quick.

And there was also the thought that this hatred, which he must in his inmost soul have felt to be well deserved, was shared by those around him. He suspected treachery in his nearest friends, and fancied they were plotting against his life. In his morbid excitement he seized some of them and put them to death, without trial or any justification. Even his brother Leptines, and Philistus, who had served him so long and so faithfully, were objects of his suspicion, and he drove them both into exile. It tormented his revengeful nature to think, that although he could stifle the popular voice in Syracuse, he had no means

of punishing the audacious orator who had laid bare his evil life, and had exposed him to the contempt and execration of the most august and venerated assembly of the Hellenic world.

In 368 B.C. Dionysius planned a wall and fosse, from the Hipponetic to the Skylettic Bay in South Italy, under the pretext of checking the inroads of the Lucanians, but really to separate the southern Greeks from those beyond the line. Of course this project was opposed by those Greeks who would thus be excluded. Dionysius had at this time to complain of inroads on his territory from the Carthaginian towns in Sicily; he therefore, with a force of thirty thousand infantry and three hundred horse, attended by three hundred triremes along the sea-coast, marched westward and captured Selinus, Entella, and Eryx; he also attacked Lilybæum, but without success. On a false report that the docks and ships at Carthage had been destroyed by fire, he sent back all his ships to Syracuse, except one hundred and fifty, which he left in the harbour of Eryx. Then the Carthaginians, whose fleet had suffered no damage, sailed out with two hundred triremes, entered the harbour of Eryx, and destroyed all the Syracusan vessels. The war was put to an end by bad weather; and soon after his defeat at Eryx, Dionysius died, in 367 B.C., after a reign of thirty-eight years.

The character of this despot is sufficiently portrayed by the foregoing narrative. Publius Scipio, when asked his opinion as to who were the cleverest and boldest men he knew of in history, named Dionysius first, and next to him, Agathocles, a later ruler of Syracuse. Of the courage of Dionysius there can be no doubt; he exposed himself in every battle, and was twice severely wounded; at Tauromenium, and before Rhegium. His quick resolution and dogged perseverance were shown in the establishment of his tyranny in Syracuse. He was greatly aided by his entire freedom from all scruples. All means, false-

hood, treachery, murder, seemed good to him, which helped him to the attainment of his objects. In some respects he conferred great benefits on Syracuse, as by his circumvallation of the city, which was completed in 385 B.C., one of the most wonderful works of antiquity. He greatly improved the Syracusan fleet, and encouraged his armourers and engineers in the invention and fabrication of the most perfect weapons and machines of war. We have no means of judging of his financial measures, but we are astounded at the vastness of his expenditure. In serious difficulties he helped himself by coining tin, in the place of silver, and doubling the nominal value of silver coin. He raised compulsory loans and drained the resources of his subjects to the very dregs.

One great reform, indeed, which Dionysius carried out, was to allow only one coinage for the whole of Sicily, viz. the tetradrachmon, which bore a female head on the obverse side, and a quadriga on the reverse. The other Sicilian cities readily accepted this reform, for none of them was strong enough to maintain an independent currency. Even the Carthaginians adopted this type of the tetradrachmon, and coined beautiful pieces, which were current in the Greek cities of Sicily, as the Syracusan coins were in Carthage. The legend of the Carthaginian pieces was "Kart Chadasat." Earlier coins of Motye bore the word "Aja."

Dionysius had no reverence for the Gods where money was concerned. He pretended that he had received an order from the Goddess Athene that all the Syracusan women should bring their valuable ornaments to her temple. When this had been done he appropriated them and sold them. He also took a golden mantle, offered by Gelon, worth eighty-five talents, from the statue of Zeus, saying, with a satirical smile, that "it was too cold in winter and too warm in summer"; and he gave the God a woollen robe. When

his workmen refused to take off Æsculapius' golden beard he removed it himself, saying that "it was not right that a son of Apollo should wear a beard when his father had none." He stripped many other temples of their gold and silver vessels.

His name was justly infamous in Greece on account of the way in which he outraged all the best feelings of human nature. He persecuted to death not only those whom he had some reason to suspect, but those of whom he thought it just possible that they might conspire against his life or his rule. The number of persons who were put to death by his orders was immense. Marsyas, one of his body-guard, related a dream that he had killed Dionysius; he was immediately condemned to death. Another guardsman had a spear taken from his hand by Leptines, the brother of Dionysius, to draw something in the sand. Dionysius was furious with him and ordered the execution of the innocent soldier. Once, when about to play at ball, Dionysius gave his sword to a youth whom he loved. A bystander remarked, "What, Dionysius? you trust this youth with your life?" Dionysius had them both executed; the one for pointing out the way to slay him; the other for smiling approbation of the jest.

He would trust no barber with a razor, but had his beard clipped by his little daughters, and, when they grew up, would not trust even them with scissors, but ordered them to singe his hair with glowing hot walnut-shells. In the Assembly he did not speak from the rostra but from a specially constructed tower. His bedroom was surrounded by a ditch with a draw-bridge. These are some of the many stories circulated about the fears and jealousies of the tyrant. They cannot, of course, be true of his conduct at all times, as we know that he worked with others at his new fortifications, and went often among the shipwrights and armourers. He constantly wore armour, and relied for his protection upon the slaves who formed his body-guard, whose manifest interest it was to

keep him alive. His nervous dread of assassination is portrayed in the story of Damocles. He did not trust his nearest friends, his relations, or his most devoted adherents. Neither his brothers nor his sons were allowed to visit him until they had been stripped; and when he proposed to visit his wives, they were previously searched. When Philistus, who had helped him to his throne, married the daughter of his brother Leptines without his knowledge, Dionysius banished them both. Leptines was soon recalled, but Philistus went to Hatria and remained over sixteen years in banishment, where he wrote the greater part of his history. Dionysius kept numerous spies in his pay, under the name of *προσαγγεῖς*, some of them women called *προσαγγίδες*, which in Sicilian Greek is *ποταγγίδες*. He used the quarries at Epipolæ as prisons in which many men were kept so long that they married and had children there; when these children emerged for the first time they were terrified at the sight of a horse. Tradition speaks of these quarries as being on the border of Achradina; here is the winding hollow cavern, the likeness of which to an ear was pointed out to the Syracusan antiquary, Mirabella, by Michelangelo di Caravaggio, and which was afterwards named "The Ear of Dionysius."

As a would-be poet Dionysius liked to have other poets at his court, of whom Philoxenus has been mentioned. Others of the writers living there were Carcinus of Akragas, who wrote a hundred and sixty poems; Æschines, a disciple of Socrates; Aristippus, founder of the Cyrenean school of philosophy, who loved the luxury of a despot's court; and Xenarchus, son of Sophron—a writer of mimes who served Dionysius as a politician.

Dionysius himself was temperate in his habits and very industrious, but he encouraged debauchery in his subjects, because it made them easier to rule; he wished to make them Helots, and partly succeeded.

Plato made his first visit to Sicily about the year

387 B.C., avowedly to see Mount Ætna. He had previously been in Italy, and when there had met the Pythagoreans, whose chief, Archytas of Tarentum, a friend of Dionysius, told the tyrant that Plato would be a great ornament to his court, if he could be induced to visit Syracuse. Archytas hoped that the illustrious philosopher's influence might bring about a change in the conduct of the despot and in the constitution of Syracuse. Dionysius sent an invitation to Plato after the peace of Antalcidas, which brought leisure to both and freedom of travelling. Plato, as we know, had seen the terrible evils of democracy as well as those of tyranny, and held that "either philosophers ought to rule the state, or statesmen to become philosophers." So he came to Syracuse.

At first Dionysius was pleased with the outspoken frankness of Plato, but when the philosopher began to denounce the injustice and cowardice of tyrants, the admiration with which Dionysius had received him began to cool.

Plato, however, won the warm admiration and friendship of a relation of the tyrant, the wise and virtuous Dion, brother of Aristomache, the tyrant's Syracusan wife. He was very useful to Dionysius, and stood high in his favour. Dion was born in the year 408 B.C., and was therefore about twenty years of age when Plato first arrived in Syracuse. He was enriched by the favour of Dionysius, and had lived in the palace, and in his early youth had been immersed in the pleasures and luxuries of the court. His exterior was dignified but graceful and winning, and he was popular with all classes of the Syracusans. When in Italy with Dionysius he had met some of the Pythagoreans and had been impressed by their mysticism, the sententious brevity of their discourse, and the self-denying purity of their morals. But it needed the irresistible charm of Plato's personality and his rich eloquence to change him from an idle courtier into an earnest searcher after truth. He soon

Very different was the temper with which Dionysius received the admonitions of the sage. As has been said, he was, for a time, pleased, or perhaps we should say amused, by the boldness, and by the frank, unsparing strictures of the illustrious reformer; and Dion might indulge in hopes of his conversion. But the overbearing despot soon grew angry with a man who dared to censure his conduct, and even to call him a coward. When Dionysius asked Plato why he had come to Syracuse, he answered: "To find a good and virtuous man!" "And you have *not* found him?" said the tyrant angrily. Henceforward he kept no terms with Plato, but, according to Diodorus, had him seized and—sold for a slave!! in the slave-market!! for twenty minæ (nearly £80 sterling), which price was gladly paid by Plato's friends! Plutarch says that Dionysius put him on board of a trireme in which the Lacedæmonian envoy, Pollis, was about to sail home, and that Dionysius begged Pollis to have him murdered during the voyage, or sold as a slave, saying, with a sneer, that "a great philosopher could be happy even as a bondsman." Pollis, therefore, put him on shore at Ægina, where he was bought by Anniceris, and was sent to Athens.

Dion, very wisely, in view of future usefulness, concealed his indignation at the treatment of his wise and noble master, and was able to maintain his good relations with the tyrant. On the death of Thearides, Dionysius gave to Dion in marriage, Arete, the widow of that brother: and showed confidence in him by sending him as ambassador to Carthage, where he distinguished himself by tact and eloquence. Dionysius allowed him a freedom of speech, and even censure, which he would tolerate in no other man.

When Dionysius was on his death-bed Dion tried to get an interview, to consult with him about the future of his sister Aristomache's children. But he was thwarted by the physicians, who were in the pay of the Locrian wife. According to Timæus, she gave her husband a sleeping-draught which hastened his death. His son by this wife, Doris of Locri, was the younger Dionysius who succeeded his father. Aristomache, the Syracusan wife, after long remaining barren, had borne him two sons and two daughters. A rivalry naturally arose between the two families, represented by Dionysius the son of Doris, and by Hipparinus and Nisæus, the young sons of Aristomache, both wives at the same time living and surviving their husband.

It was after a few days' illness, by a sudden and violent attack of fever, that Dionysius I. was carried off in the year 367 B.C.; and it seems strange that a man of his autocratic, domineering temperament should not have named his successor; but this may be accounted for by the unexpectedness of his death, and by the statement that he passed his last days under the influence of a soporific potion—administered by his Locrian wife? or by his son?

As Dion, uncle to the children of Aristomache, was denied all access to the dying tyrant, Dionysius, the eldest son, succeeded his father without opposition. He was presented to the powerless Assembly, who bowed to the possessor of the impregnable citadel in



Ortygia, and to the commander of a strong force of devoted mercenaries.

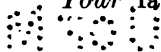
The obsequies of the deceased tyrant were solemnised with unexampled splendour; and a funeral pile, so magnificent as to confer lasting glory on Timæus the architect, was erected outside of Ortygia, near the royal gates which led to the citadel.

Dionysius I. was, to a certain extent, notwithstanding some passages of his career in which he seemed to court the favour of Carthage, the champion of Hellenism against the Semites. He declared that Carthage was the enemy; and he favoured the Sicels and tried to abolish the distinction between them and the Greeks. Like his ancient predecessors Gelon and Hiero, he transplanted the inhabitants of several cities to others; and he filled their place with his barbarous mercenaries. He stands almost alone, in Grecian history, in his contempt for religion and the Gods.

CHAPTER XXXII

DIONYSIUS II. AND DION

DIONYSIUS the Second was twenty-five years of age when he ascended the throne in B.C. 367. He was not without good natural capacity, but his education had been worse than neglected. This aspirant to a position in which only a man of exceptional ability could maintain himself against numerous enemies, was without any experience in the conduct of affairs. He had not been allowed to take any part in public business, had never been summoned to the council or shared in political discussions, being purposely excluded from the government; and he had never seen any military service. His youth had been passed in the acropolis and palace of Ortygia, amidst the luxurious indulgences of his princely rank; or, at best, in learning carpentering and turning. Yet he was not without some taste for poetry and music, and was delighted when allowed to associate with the professors of those arts at his father's court. But of philosophy or any other subject of serious study he was absolutely ignorant. He had engaged in idle amours; and once his father warned him, when he heard that the young man was intriguing with the wife of a citizen, and asked him: "Did you ever hear the same thing said of *me*?" The son answered: "*Your* father was not a ruler, and you were not a



born ruler." "And *your* son will not be one, if you act in this way!" the elder Dionysius replied.

It was fortunate for this unready, incompetent prince, that Dion, instead of trying to supersede him as he could probably have done, or opposing him in the interest of Dion's own nephews, Hipparinus and Nysæus, did all in his power to confirm the younger Dionysius in his difficult position. While others anxiously considered how they might win his favour by encouraging him in his less worthy pursuits, Dion did not ask him what he liked to do, but told him frankly what he *ought* to do; and Dionysius II. had sense enough to recognise the superior wisdom and virtue of Dion, and gratefully accepted his advice in all the more serious affairs of state. He was even obliged to his generous relative for pecuniary assistance. Having, through idleness rather than from policy, much relaxed the severity of his father's rule, he enjoyed a certain amount of popularity. This was farther increased by the recall of Philistus, the historian, who had been banished; and who, as he wrote an elaborate description of the funeral obsequies, was most probably in Syracuse immediately after the death of Dionysius I.

The war with Carthage, though it no longer assumed great proportions, was not yet at an end. Dion left to the young monarch the choice of peace or war; but said that if peace were chosen he would go to Carthage to conclude it, as he had some powerful connexions there, who would enable him to obtain favourable terms. If, on the other hand, Dionysius chose war, Dion offered to equip fifty triremes at his own expense. Dionysius chose peace, through indolence; and Dion concluded it at Carthage on the principle of the "*status quo ante bellum*." Thus Dionysius II. stood in the same relation to Carthage as his father. But, by the advice of Dion, he so far pursued the Hellenic policy as greatly to strengthen his position in the Adriatic, by founding two new

colonies in Apulia. These settlements proved of the greatest importance and advantage to Apulia, which was thus drawn within the influence of Hellenic culture, as is proved by extant coins and vases.

Dionysius was quite satisfied to transfer the heavy burthen of State affairs from his own weak shoulders to those of Dion. He profited by the freedom from care secured to him by his friend and counsellor, so that the palace resounded continually with dance and song and riot; and Dionysius himself is said to have been "drunk for ninety days!"

But Dion, before whose eyes the ideals of Socratic wisdom were ever hovering, could not long be content to maintain and serve a despot. Free from passion, from ambition and self-love, he cared only for the welfare of his fellow-men. He hoped to convert Dionysius to his views, and never ceased to admonish him, and endeavoured to inspire him with the love of truth, the sentiments of honour and philanthropy; but it was in vain. With characteristic modesty, Dion attributed his failure to his own want of persuasive power, and thought of the magical charm of Plato's personality.

He knew that Plato would not come a second time to Syracuse unless Dionysius invited him, and gave him some guarantee against such shameful treatment as he had before experienced from the elder Dionysius. He therefore endeavoured to awaken in the breast of the young trifter a desire to see the illustrious sage to whom all the world paid homage, and to learn, from his honeyed eloquence, that true happiness could only be found in the philosophic life.

He told Dionysius that his father had bound his subjects with the "adamantine chains" of fear and force, but that even these were fragile and weak compared with the bonds of love. The task of the wise and righteous governor, he said, would be rendered easy and pleasant; because his people would willingly and gladly obey him. He described to

Dionysius the glory which he would acquire throughout the whole of Greece, if, instead of employing his vast power, like a vulgar tyrant, in promoting his own selfish ends, he used it in promoting the temperance, the virtue, and the happiness of his subjects. If he wished to surpass all rivals, and to be admired by the noblest men of every nation, he must invite Plato to his court, and sit at his feet.

Dionysius, who could not but be conscious of his own want of education, and whose vanity was tickled by the notion of surpassing the men of his circle in knowledge and wisdom, began to listen to the expostulations of his friend, and at last became eagerly desirous of seeing and hearing Plato. He wrote to Plato, begging him to come to Syracuse, as did also Dion and the Italian Pythagoreans.

Plato had framed in his own mind a constitution which, while approaching the ideal, perfect State, administered by philosophers, should be so modified in accordance with existing circumstances as to be made possible. In carrying out this idea he preferred to deal with one all-powerful monarch rather than with the chiefs of a Republic. If the independent ruler, with power enough to make the necessary changes, could be won for his ideas, their realisation seemed possible and might come quickly. When he received the invitation of Dionysius it appeared to the great reformer that the desired conditions were ready to his hand in Syracuse. Plato enjoyed the highest estimation in Athens, and was surrounded in the groves of Academus by ardent and devoted admirers from all parts of Greece. But he obtained no influence over the Athenian democracy; and he was dazzled by the possibilities of usefulness in a State like Syracuse, pointed out to him by Dion, and by Archytas, the eminent Pythagorean.

He embarked at Athens in a trireme sent for him by Dionysius, and sailed to Syracuse. There he found a stately equipage with richly attired servants

waiting to bear him to the sumptuous abode prepared for him. Dionysius received him with the utmost deference, and offered a sacrifice to the Gods in gratitude for the safe arrival of his illustrious guest. Plato, it seems, was very doubtful of the success of his enterprise, and had only yielded to the arguments and prayers of Dion and others, but the sudden change in the tone and demeanour of the young prince seemed to warrant better hopes. All seemed changed; the despot himself, his friends and courtiers; the banquets at the acropolis became remarkable for their plainness and strict sobriety; the rich carpets of the magnificent halls were removed, and the floors were strewed with sand, in which Dionysius and his courtiers drew mathematical figures under the supervision of Plato himself. They were "to pass through the Gate of Geometry into the Hall of Philosophy." So deeply interested, for the moment, was Dionysius in Plato's teaching, that he seemed about to descend from his throne and to lay down his sceptre at the teacher's feet. Upon the occasion of a family feast, when the herald was about to offer the customary prayer for the duration and prosperity of the tyranny, Dionysius stopped him, saying, "Cease to *curse* us!"

But the inevitable reaction was not far off. These indications of an extraordinary change in the views of their ruler, on whom they depended for their position, their wealth, and their luxurious indulgences—for all that made life seem desirable to them—greatly alarmed the older politicians, and especially Philistus their chief, and they set to work to counteract the designs of Dion and Plato. From the latter they could not withhold the admiration due to his genius and his marvellous influence. It was observed that, once upon a time, the Athenians had come to Syracuse with a mighty armament of troops and ships to conquer the city, and had miserably failed; but now, this one Athenian sage, with nothing but

his eloquent tongue and his powerful personality, was making himself absolute master of the city and its sovereign. But they used every means they could command to bring the tyrant back to the path in which his father had walked so long and so triumphantly. They represented to him that Philistus also was a wise counsellor, and at the same time a practical statesman, from whom Dionysius could learn far more than from Plato, a visionary dreamer, whose Utopian ideas were incapable of realisation. Their attacks, however, were chiefly directed against Dion, who, they said, was using the harmless Plato as a tool for the advancement of his own ends. Could anything, they asked, be more preposterous or more mischievous than the endeavour to make Dionysius give up his armies, his ships, and all the glories of his rule, and all the pleasures of his court, for the barren studies of geometry and philosophy? They did not scruple to fill the ear of Dionysius with the basest and most groundless calumnies. Dion, they said, was intriguing against him, and was gradually usurping all power in Syracuse, with the intention of deposing him and of handing over the government to the children of Dion's sister, Aristomache. They declared that he had already made arrangements with the generals, Theodotes and Heracleides, to carry these treasonable designs into effect. These whispered calumnies did not fail to have some effect on the sensitive mind of Dionysius, who had always been jealous of Dion, and felt oppressed by a sense of his great personal superiority.

On the other hand, Dion and Plato had not used with due consideration and discretion the influence which they had acquired over the young tyrant. There is no doubt that Dionysius sincerely revered Plato; and he was to such a degree imbued with the reforming spirit as to be ready to change his despotic government into a limited monarchy; which intention he announced to Dion in the presence of Plato. But

instead of recognising the extraordinary self-denial, and the sincere conviction, implied in such an offer made by an all-powerful ruler—instead of praising and encouraging him—Plato coldly told him that he could carry out no external reform until he was himself thoroughly changed by a long course of training in mathematics and philosophy. They treated him as a sinner who could only earn absolution by penance and fasting, or as a naughty schoolboy who could not be allowed to take any part in the serious affairs of life until he had attained his mental and moral majority. What wonder, then, that Dionysius felt himself humiliated and wounded, and began to listen with greater readiness to the insinuations of Philistus, who convinced him that all the recent changes were made in the interest of Dion and his nephews?

The enemies of Dion saw, indeed, that Dionysius, though jealous of Dion, was still sincerely attached to Plato; they therefore devised a scheme to get rid of Dion and to induce Plato to remain at Syracuse. While the mind of Dionysius was vacillating, the spies of this camarilla got possession of a letter which Dion had written to the Carthaginian commander in Sicily, asking him not to communicate directly with Dionysius, but in the first place with himself, as he was better acquainted with the condition of affairs. As Dion, even in the reign of the elder Dionysius, had carried on all diplomatic negotiations with Carthage there was nothing treasonable in this request. But, in his present temper, Dionysius saw in it another attempt to supersede him, and viewed the transaction in the most odious light. The banishment of Dion was determined on, and the manner of it was settled in a secret consultation of the camarilla with Dionysius. The latter sent for Dion and walked with him to the sea-shore, conversing with him in a friendly manner, and then suddenly drew forth the letter, showed it to Dion, and accused him, face to face, of treasonable

dealings with the enemy. Dion, conscious of no wrong intention, loudly protested, but Dionysius stopped him and, calling the captain of a vessel which lay close by, had Dion forcibly put on board, and gave orders to convey him to Italy.

This sudden and violent action caused the greatest consternation in the palace, for Dion was the husband of Dionysius' sister, Arete, and Aristomache, the second wife and the widow of the elder Dionysius, was the sister of Dion. But Philistus and his party were triumphant and overjoyed at the thought that all fears of changes in the government were now at an end. The partisans of Dion, and especially Plato himself, were alarmed for their own safety, fully expecting that they, too, would be singled out for punishment. But the tyrant was satisfied with having rid himself of the man whose superiority made him odious to a person of so jealous a temper as Dionysius, and he took no further proceedings against Dion, his family, or his friends. On the contrary, he gave them two ships to convey Dion's property and slaves to the Peloponnesus, whither Dion had now gone from Italy, and there he was able to live in the same splendid manner as in Syracuse.

Dionysius continued to treat Plato with the greatest distinction, and invited him to take up his abode in the palace, under the pretence of doing him the more honour; but Plato was really a prisoner, for the tyrant feared that he might escape to Italy and Greece and spread evil reports of his conduct.

It is difficult, however, to account for the desire of Dionysius to stand well with Plato, and to gain his approbation; but there can be no doubt that it existed and was very strong. Plato remained several months in this *quasi* imprisonment; but when Dionysius, being occupied with some war—of which we are not informed—consented to let the philosopher depart, if he would promise to return at the conclusion of peace, Plato agreed to these terms and departed to Athens.

When, after an interval, Dionysius again invited Plato to Syracuse on the ground of their covenant, the latter refused to go without Dion. The tyrant said that Dion must wait another year. Plato was really very much averse to risking liberty and life for a second time, but the tyrant continued his solicitations and brought the influence of Archytas and the Tarentines to bear upon him. They commissioned their friend Archedemus, who came to Athens in a Syracusan ship, to confer with Plato and to assure him that a great change had taken place in Dionysius, and that he was now an earnest student of philosophy. Plato was not convinced, but again yielded to the wishes of Dion and his friends, and went for the third time to Syracuse. He was received, as before, with distinguished honours, and had the unique privilege of approaching Dionysius without being searched. Dionysius was greatly exalted, in his own eyes, by familiar intercourse with the illustrious philosopher, and by his own advance in the study of philosophy. His flatterers persuaded him that he was a perfect master of all the sciences, and encouraged him to call himself a son of Apollo!

As all hope of inducing the tyrant to restore their free institutions to the Syracusans was gone, the main object of Plato was to obtain the return of Dion from exile. In this he entirely failed; the despot's hatred and fear of Dion continually increased. Dion's great wealth, as has been said, enabled him to live in stately independence in the Peloponnesus, or in Athens. But Dionysius, desirous to inflict vengeance upon him, and to lessen Dion's means of opposing him, confiscated, first the half, and then the whole of his property, sold it for the sum of a hundred talents, and distributed the proceeds among his courtiers. He also sent away Plato from the palace and lodged him in a distant dwelling, which was watched by the tyrant's mercenaries. Plato, indignant at these outrages, demanded permission to depart. Yet it was only

after long and tiresome discussion that Dionysius consented, chiefly through the earnest remonstrances of Archytas, who had persuaded Plato to go to Syracuse, and considered himself responsible for his safety.

During the last few days before Plato's departure Dionysius showed marked attention and respect to him and Archytas, to remove the impression that he had intended to injure his illustrious guest. At a farewell banquet the despot said to Plato: "I suppose, when you are philosophising with your friends in Athens, you will say all manner of evil of *me*?" Plato answered: "I trust that there will never be such a dearth of important subjects in the Academy that we shall come to speak of *you*."

Before long the last straw was laid upon Dion's back, by an outrage on his wife, Arete, who had lived in Syracuse during the exile of her husband, and had tried to mediate between him and the tyrant. Dionysius, in his fiendish desire to wound Dion in the tenderest part, now decreed a divorce between him and Arete, and gave her in marriage, against her will, to his friend Timocrates. This was more than Dion could bear, and he now resolved to avenge his wife, and to secure his own return to Syracuse, by force of arms.

Dion was greatly encouraged in his design by his friend Speusippus, who was a member of the Academy, and had accompanied Plato to Syracuse. While there he had little intercourse with the court circles, but he had mixed pretty freely with the mass of the citizens, and obtained a minute knowledge of their views and feelings. On the ground of this knowledge he said: "Let Dion come without ships or soldiers and all the Siceliot will immediately join him." Calippus, with Eudemus, Timonides, and Miltas, the indispensable seer and prophet, all members of the Academy at Athens, were ready to join in the enterprise. Alcimenes, too, a leading Achaian, lent his powerful aid to

Dion's undertaking, probably from sympathy with the sufferings of Croton, an Achaian colony, now in dependence on the Syracusan tyrant. Plato, whom Dion met at the Olympic festival of the year 360 B.C., expressed his sympathy with the cause, but, partly on the plea of age, and partly from his horror of war and bloodshed, declined to take any active part in the adventure.

Dion had hoped for aid from Corinth; but after the battle of Mantinea, a general lassitude prevailed throughout Greece, and he received no aid from the mother-country. But he was not minded to follow the advice of Speusippus and enter Syracuse without ships and soldiers. He began at once to collect mercenaries and to hire ships; while he procured a great quantity of weapons and some coats of mail, to equip the Siceliots whom he expected to join him in Sicily. His mercenaries, to the number of eight hundred, were enlisted in Zacynthus (Zante); but he concealed from them the purpose of his warlike preparations. When it leaked out, nevertheless, that they were going to fight against Dionysius, they were greatly excited, and declared that they were too few for such a gigantic undertaking. So widely-spread were these apprehensions that only some thirty out of a thousand Syracusans dared to join Dion; but he and Alcimenes prevailed with some by assuring them that only leaders were wanted, as they would be joined at once by all the Siceliots in Syracuse. Five merchant vessels were engaged to carry provisions for the voyage from Zacynthus to Syracuse, as the customary route by Coreyra (Corfu) and the Gulf of Tarentum was blocked by the fleet of Dionysius. Before his departure from Greece, Dion led his soldiers in full armour to the temple of Apollo, offered a solemn sacrifice to the God, and gave a great feast to them and the Zacynthians, who were amazed at the display of gold and silver vessels.

To all but those who shared in the lofty enthusiasm

of Dion, the disparity of force between Dion and Dionysius seemed to doom the expedition to ignominious failure. To lead a few hundred men against one of the greatest military and naval powers of the Hellenic world seemed little short of madness; and so it was regarded by impartial observers like Demosthenes, as we learn from his oration against Leptines. But Dion looked only to the righteousness of his country's cause, and that of his outraged sister and his wife; how could the Gods fail to help him in his heroic purpose of avenging the foul wrongs which he had suffered from the tyrant? Dion had no fears—though he had great reason to fear! On the very night of the feast before starting, August 9th, 357 B.C., one of those celestial phenomena, an eclipse of the moon, took place, similar to that which had, long before, prevented the escape of the Athenian army from Syracuse. It was regarded by Dion's soldiers as a sign that the Gods disapproved of the expedition; but Miltas the seer came forward and confidently declared that it was, indeed, a portent from the Gods, but that it signified the disappearance of something splendid—the eclipse of Dionysius' mighty power. The seer, notwithstanding, secretly pointed out to Dion that the moon would quickly reappear in all her lustre, and his success would therefore only be brief and temporary. However, the soldiers' fears were calmed by Miltas' interpretation; and when the Gods sent a favourable and steady wind which wafted them safely, in twelve days, across the open sea from Zacynthus to Cape Pachynus, they were fully reassured.

Dionysius, too, had his portents in Syracuse. An eagle snatched a lance from a guardsman and threw it into the sea; which signified that Zeus would take away the sceptre from the tyrant. The salt water which washed the walls of Syracuse became sweet and fit to drink, for a whole day; which meant that sweet liberty would soon flow over bitter tyranny.

In the royal pig-sties all the sows bore young ones without ears!

But Dion was not to be spared difficulties and suffering before he could land in Sicily. On reaching Cape Pachynus the captain of his ship advised him to land at once, as bad weather was to be expected, and a favouring south wind was very rare at this season. But Dion was afraid to land so near the enemy, and took his ship round the Cape. Then a furious storm of wind from the north, with thunder and lightning, broke on his little flotilla, and drove it to the south. It was with the utmost difficulty that the sailors could save their ships from being dashed against the rocks of Cercina. When the storm abated they found themselves off the African coast, near the Greater Syrtis, and were for a time becalmed. But then a gentle south wind arose, which carried them in five days to Heracleia Minoa in Sicily, a town at that time in the Carthaginian sphere. Fortunately, it was governed by Synalus (or Panalus), a Greek in the service of Carthage, a great friend of Dion's, who received him cordially. And now the favour of the Gods was more signally displayed. On landing at Minoa they learnt, with equal astonishment and delight, that Dionysius with ninety ships of war had just left Syracuse for the Italian waters, leaving the command of the city to Timocrates, the new husband of Dion's wife. The way to Syracuse now lay open before them!

The eager troops, giving up all thoughts of their needful rest, called on Dion to lead them straight to Syracuse; and, after a short rest, he gave the welcome signal to march. On his way through the Agrigentine territory he was joined, at Ecnomon, by two hundred horsemen; and at Gela and Camarina many of the inhabitants and a number of Sicans and Sicels were added to his force. Help was also sent from Messene; and on reaching the borders of the Syracusan territory Dion's army consisted of twenty thousand men; few,

indeed, compared with the Syracusan force of a hundred thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and a hundred triremes! But the incapacity of Dionysius, and the hatred of the Syracusans towards him, made the contest more equal. Dion, after a short evening repose, marched on through the night and at daybreak took possession of the ford of the river Anapus, and advanced within a mile of the city walls. He was now within the view of the impatient Syracusans, who saw him offering a solemn sacrifice to the river-God, clad in sacrificial robes, with a wreath upon his head; the soldiers, too, now confident of success, were also crowned with bays.

Timocrates, the new brother-in-law of Dionysius, sent off a hasty message to the tyrant at Caulonia in Italy; but the messenger on his way thither, meeting a friend who gave him bread and meat, put these victuals into his bag containing the despatches; a wolf came, seized the bag, and carried it off; the messenger, not daring to approach Dionysius without the letter from Timocrates, ran away, and was no more seen.

Dion's army now passed the Anapus and ran across the plain between the south cliff of Epipolæ and the Great Harbour, and approached the Temenite Gate of Neapolis. Dion, in splendid armour, led them on, with his brother Megacles on one side of him, and Calippus the Athenian on the other, all still crowned. Timocrates occupied the two points of Epipolæ and Ortygia, between which lay the populous quarters where most of the citizens resided.

On seeing Dion pass the Anapus without opposition the whole city rose to welcome their deliverer from a tyranny which had now lasted forty-eight years. They crowded to the Temenite Gate, the principal citizens in festive array; and the whole multitude received Dion with shouts of joy. Halting at the gate he called for silence by the sound of a trumpet, and addressed the jubilant throng. He was come, he

said, with his brother Megacles, to put down the despotic dynasty and restore their ancient liberty to the Syracusans and all the Sicilian Greeks.

Meanwhile, many of the mercenaries of Dionysius, especially the Leontines, left the city on hearing a report spread by Dion that he intended first of all to attack Leontini. The two strong positions, on Epipolæ and in Ortygia, held by Timocrates, were cut off from any communication by the intervening central district, now filled with the insurgent and triumphant Syracusans. As Hermocrates was evidently devoid of all military talent, he thought he had no alternative but to quit the position of Epipolæ by the north or the western side. To excuse his cowardly flight he gave a most terrifying account of the strength and ferocity of Dion's army. After the ceremony at the Temenite Gate Dion marched through Neapolis and along the broad continuous street through Achradina. The people who lined the way were wild with joy; the houses were decorated as on solemn days of jubilee and filled with eager and clamorous spectators. They cast wreaths on Dion and his soldiers as if on an Olympian victor; victims were brought and sacrificed to the Gods, and grateful prayers were offered to the saviour of his country, as to a God. After raising the spirits of his troops by this triumphal procession, Dion led them down to the ground before Ortygia and challenged the garrison; but they, being left without a leader by the flight of Timocrates, refused to quit their stronghold. This confession of weakness increased the confidence and joy of the Dionians, whom Dion now addressed as freemen. In front of the Acropolis was a lofty sundial, erected by the elder Dionysius; Dion mounted to the top of this splendid monument, and, standing between the citadel and the emancipated Achradina, delivered an eloquent address to the citizens, warmly congratulating them on their recovered freedom and calling upon them to act like freemen in its defence.

He bade them choose generals to carry on the war against Dionysius, which was by no means ended. They chose Dion himself and his brother Megacles, and would have been willing to leave the command in his hands alone; but Dion insisted that others should be nominated as their colleagues, and twenty others were elected, chiefly from the Syracusan exiles who had joined him at Zacynthus.

Dion lost no time in pursuing the signal advantages he had gained. He led an attack on the all-important fortification of Epipolæ, and the garrison, disheartened by the flight of Hermocrates, allowed him to take possession of the strong fort of Euryelus, which might easily have been defended. The friends and soldiers of the tyrant were now confined to the limits of Ortygia, and Dion began at once to prepare for the siege of this last bulwark of the tyranny. He ran a wall from the Great Harbour, at one extremity, to the sea, on the east side of the Portus Laccius, at the other extremity. Having armed the citizens with the spare weapons which he had left with Synalus at Heracleia, which his friend now sent to him, he completed the blockading wall, without interruption from the garrison of the citadel.

After several days Dionysius, with his fleet, returning to Syracuse, arrived to find that he could only enter the fortress of Ortygia, as the whole of the city, except that precinct, was occupied by the Dionians; and that even Ortygia was closed, and shut out from communication, by the new wall. He also found that Leontini and other towns dependent on Syracuse were in full revolt against him. In this adverse state of affairs he did not dare to risk a battle in the open field, but resorted to intrigue and stratagem. He first tried to detach Dion himself from the cause of freedom by magnificent promises; but Dion flatly refused to enter into any secret negotiation, and referred him to the Syracusan citizens and their leaders; whereupon the tyrant sent envoys to the

Assembly, offering a free constitution, reduced taxation, and less onerous military service. The Syracusans laughed at these concessions, and Dion replied that no proposal from Dionysius would be considered short of immediate abdication. Dionysius pretended to accept these terms, and asked that envoys might be sent to settle details; but these men he made prisoners, and then prepared for a sally on a large scale with his garrison of mercenaries.

When all was ready he bade his men, heated by strong wine, and with extraordinary promises of reward, assail the new wall. The Dionians, who had looked on the whole as settled, were completely taken by surprise, and offered but little resistance. Even the more disciplined men of Dion's army were somewhat disordered by the flight of the fugitive defenders of his wall, and the hoplites had no time to assume the proper formation. Dion now showed the highest qualities of a commander, and exerted himself to the utmost to rally the disordered troops; but in the midst of the din his orders were not heard, and the assailants were gaining ground. Careless of his own safety, he rallied around him the bravest of his men and rushed into the thickest of the fray. The struggle took place in a confined spot between the new wall and the wall of Neapolis, and it was said to be one of the most hotly contested battles in Greek history. The chief efforts of the assailants were directed against the person of Dion, who was conspicuous to both sides; a shower of missiles was poured upon him, and he was wounded in the hand and thrown on the ground; but his soldiers helped him to mount his horse. His example filled them with heroic courage, and they charged again with desperate valour. Timonides was then appointed by Dion to take charge of the troops, while he, a man no longer young, and wounded as he was, rode into Achradina and brought up the garrison of that district to the scene of battle. These men decided the

conflict, and the mercenaries of Dionysius were driven back into Ortygia. There was severe loss of men on both sides; Dionysius ordered that the bodies of all the slain should be picked up and buried with grand obsequies; he hoped, by so doing, to become popular among the Syracusans. But they, rejoicing in their victory, voted garlands of honour to the Dionian soldiers; and these, full of admiration of the gallantry of their leader, whose valour alone had saved them from destruction, voted him a costly golden wreath. Dion immediately set to work to repair his wall, which had been partially destroyed in the sally of the garrison, and he placed over it a sufficient guard.

Dionysius could not bring his soldiers to venture upon another sortie; but being still superior at sea, he procured supplies for his garrison in Ortygia, and ravaged the surrounding country. A great change was made by the arrival of Heracleides from the Peloponnesus, with two triremes and fifteen hundred soldiers; also, by the desertion of many men from the crews of the tyrant's fleet, who brought their ships to Dion. But then Philistus came to the aid of Dionysius from the Gulf of Tarentum, with his whole fleet and a regiment of cavalry. With these and other troops he assaulted Leontini by night, but was repulsed by the inhabitants and some Syracusans. The most pressing care of Philistus was to keep the way open for the supply of provisions to Ortygia.

Philistus saw, however, that the naval force of Dion, now under the command of Heracleides, was gradually being increased; and he therefore determined to risk all in a decisive battle of the fleets. The forces on either side were about equal, nearly sixty triremes, and both admirals were brave and experienced commanders. In their encounter, Philistus seemed at first likely to be victorious; but the fortune of the day soon turned against him. His ship ran ashore, and most of the fleet, with Philistus himself, were captured. He endeavoured to escape from the hands

of his captors by stabbing himself, but the wound was not mortal. The old man, seventy-eight years of age, was treated by the Syracusans with shameful cruelty; they stripped him, brutally outraged him, and then cut off his head, after which they dragged the trunk by the leg through the streets. With the death of Philistus ended all hope for the Dionysian dynasty. The supremacy at sea was lost, and with it the possibility, for Dionysius, to maintain himself in his stronghold of Ortygia.

He could no longer, either by sea or land, contend with the forces of Dion; he could only gratify his virulent hatred of Dion by intrigues, taking advantage of the peculiar situation of Dion with respect to the Syracusans. Dion was, in many respects, in a false position. In the first place, he belonged to the family of the despot, and had been reared in the court, and in the enjoyment of exalted rank and palatial luxury. Then Dionysius II. had not been overthrown by the citizens of Syracuse alone, but by the kinsman of the tyrant and his mercenaries, who cared nothing for the liberties of the citizens, but were ready to do whatever their master ordered. Then, again, Dion made the mistake of retaining a body-guard and continuing to reside in the fortified citadel; the citizens, consequently, did not implicitly trust him; they asked what he meant by restoring the freedom of the city? Was the government to be in the hands of the people and their chosen leaders? or was it to be influenced by Dion, and only changed into a wise and benevolent, instead of an arbitrary and cruel, despotism? If so, then they had only changed tyrants! And, lastly, the haughty manners of Dion, of which even his intimate friends complained, gave great offence, and alienated the common people.

And now a rival to Dion was in the city, to whom the malcontents could transfer their allegiance. Heracleides had prudently abstained from co-operating with Dion at Zacynthus, waiting to see whether he

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would be successful or not. But now he brought a considerable force, and he had the reputation of being a skilful and experienced military chief. His manners, too, according to Plutarch, were remarkably courteous and winning; and he was an adept in the arts of intrigue, by which he sought to incriminate his rival and to raise himself. He had been in the service of Dionysius II., but was expelled by the tyrant for exciting a mutiny among the mercenaries. At first he was on good terms with Dion, but was always on the watch for an opportunity to overthrow him. At the beginning of the war between Dion and the tyrant, which continued through the year 357 B.C., when Philistus was, singularly enough, in Italy with the fleet of Dionysius, and the Syracusans had time to build and equip new ships; and the Assembly appointed Heracleides admiral of their constantly increasing fleet, without asking the sanction of Dion. The latter was offended by this high-handed proceeding, which, he said, encroached on the full powers conferred upon himself; and the people unwillingly cancelled the appointment of Heracleides, thus acknowledging the supremacy of Dion. Then Dion, after gently rebuking Heracleides, summoned another Assembly, and himself proposed his reappointment, with a body-guard equal to his own. By this strange act he offended the Syracusans, humiliated and exasperated Heracleides, and at the same time gave him the means to avenge himself without openly renouncing Dion's friendship.

Heracleides, thenceforth, took every opportunity of spreading suspicion and slander amongst the citizens, while other and more open enemies arose against Dion. One Sosis attacked and reviled him in the Assembly, telling the people that they had changed for the worse, by substituting a sober and capable tyrant for a stupid drunkard. Next day he appeared in the market-place with a bleeding head, and declared that he had been wounded by Dion's mercenaries. The people were agitated; but Dion came among

them with a physician, who found that the wound was a mere scratch inflicted by Sosis on himself; and he was then condemned to death. But other and more powerful opponents had greater success, and the enmity to Dion and his mercenaries continually increased.

By the destruction of the tyrant's fleet and the death of Philistus, Dionysius was deprived of the means of continuing the struggle. He therefore opened negotiations with Dion, offering to surrender Ortygia, with its garrison, arms, and treasure, on condition of being allowed to retire to Italy and to enjoy the revenue of Gyaita, a rich estate in the Syracusan territory. Dion referred him to the Assembly, which refused to listen to any terms but those of unconditional surrender. Dionysius, however, managed to escape from Syracuse, with a few followers and much treasure, leaving the fortress of Ortygia under command of his eldest son, Apollocrates.

With him the Dionysian dynasty came to an end; but his departure caused great agitation in Syracuse, and the people blamed Heracleides for allowing him to escape. Yet he retained a strong hold on the Syracusans, on account of his signal victory over Philistus. He now more openly aimed at the deposition of Dion. A certain citizen, a popular leader, named Hippo, proposed a new distribution of land, which Heracleides warmly advocated, to win popularity, but which Dion opposed, as unfair and revolutionary. Hippo's resolution was carried in the Assembly; and a second vote was passed, to depose Dion from the rank of General and Admiral, and to appoint twenty-five generals in his stead, of whom Heracleides was one. These new commanders intrigued with Dion's soldiers, whom the Syracusans deprived of their pay, and offered free citizenship to all who would desert Dion. These overtures were rejected with scorn. At a word from Dion, they

would have avenged him on the faithless, ungrateful Syracusans; but Dion was unwilling to shed the blood of his late subjects, vile as their conduct was. He withdrew his troops from the town, intending to march to Leontini. Before starting, he pointed out to the new generals the folly, as well as wickedness, of their conduct, considering that the army of Dionysius still held possession of Ortygia. As he was leaving the city the Syracusans followed him, and threatened to fall upon his retreating army; but Dion's brave mercenaries, without using their weapons, merely turned and shouted, and the rabble immediately dispersed. They renewed the attack with a stronger force as Dion was passing a river, but they were easily driven back.

The Dionysian party in Ortygia now received a considerable reinforcement. Dionysius sent Nypsius, a Neapolitan captain, from Locri to Syracuse with triremes and ships of burthen laden with provisions, raising the garrison of Ortygia to ten thousand brave mercenaries, which renewed the hopes of his partisans. It seems strange that so experienced a general as Heracleides could not prevent the entry of Nypsius and his ships into the harbour; but he did the next best thing by falling on Nypsius' fleet in the harbour, where the newly arrived crews were engaged in taking up their positions and landing their stores, expecting nothing so little as an attack. Several of Nypsius' triremes and some transports were taken. The worthless fickle mob of the city were all the more pleased by this victory because it had been achieved by Heracleides without the help of Dion. They thought of nothing but celebrating their victory by feasting, revelry, and rioting, and took no care to occupy the weak points of their defences by a sufficient guard. The twenty-five incapable, impotent "generals," who had been elected on the sole ground of their enmity to Dion, could do nothing. Nypsius, who was on the watch, saw his opportunity, and with his ten thousand

men sallied from the fortress of Ortygia, captured Dion's wall, entered Neapolis and Tyche, and fell upon the unprepared and drunken revellers. After slaying a large number of them, he plundered their houses of all their valuable and moveable property, as well as capturing the women and children.

The less foolish of the citizens, and even Heracleides and his colleagues, now confessed that their only hope of safety lay in the return of Dion and his brave troop from Leontini. The humiliation of applying to those whom they had so lately hounded out of the city kept them silent for a time; but at length one of the allies came forward in the Assembly, and proposed the recall of Dion. Accordingly, they sent Hellanicus and four other Syracusan horsemen, and of the allies Archonides and Telesides, charging them to ride with all speed to Leontini. They reached that city in the evening, immediately found Dion, and related to him the awful sufferings of the Syracusans. They fell at the feet of the man whom they had so lately tried to murder; and with tears and lamentations besought him to save them from the fate they had so richly deserved, and he listened, with rare generosity, to their piteous tale.

A general assembly of the Leontines was called, which Dion addressed in an eloquent and pathetic appeal. He said that he could not dictate to the Peloponnesians and allies what course they should follow; but if they would forget the past, and all the wrongs inflicted upon them by the blinded and reckless Syracusans, and would go to their aid, Syracuse would owe her very existence to their noble magnanimity.

"For my own part," he added, "I can neither deliberate nor hesitate, so long as Syracuse is in possession of the enemy. If I cannot save my native city, I will bury myself in its ruins."

Deeply touched by his large-hearted and heroic bearing, and his moving words, they all cried out that

they would follow him to the death, and called upon him to lead them at once to Syracuse. Dion gave orders that every man should go home and take his meal, and then return, fully armed, and prepare for a night march to Syracuse. They set forth, and came within a short distance of the north wall of Epipolæ at sunrise. Nysius, after allowing his men to pillage and destroy to their hearts' content during the whole day, had withdrawn the garrison troops to their stronghold in Ortygia. Upon this, the traitor Heracleides and the other "generals," thinking that all danger was now over, and remembering only their bitter hatred of Dion, repented of the invitation sent to him, and now sent messages forbidding him to approach any nearer to the city. At the same time the more sane and sensible citizens also sent envoys to Dion, entreating him to come on as quickly as possible.

The next morning, however, changed the whole face of affairs. Nysius sallied forth again with the avowed purpose, not so much of plundering—there was little left to steal—but of burning the city and slaughtering its inhabitants. Under these circumstances, not even Heracleides, who was himself wounded, could oppose the entrance of Dion; and he now sent his own brother and uncle to Dion to hasten his march. Dion was about sixty stadia from the city when these last messengers arrived at his camp. Without a moment's hesitation he issued the order to advance; and he and his soldiers, with equal eagerness, went forward at a running pace to the gates called Hexapyla in the north wall of Epipolæ. He drew up his men inside the gates in a space called Hecatompædon, and sent forward his light-armed troops to check the ravages of the enemy, and then enrolled the Syracusans, who flocked to his standard in great numbers. With these he advanced into the interior of the city, entering the quarters of Tyche, Neapolis, and Achradina, not without difficulty, for the way was impeded by heaps of corpses, fallen or

falling houses, flame and smoke; wherever Dion turned his eyes he beheld fresh spectacles of horror; everywhere blood and fire, wounded and dying men and women.

We may wonder that his progress was not opposed by Nypsius, whose mercenaries were brave and skilful; but for two days they had been burning and slaughtering, indulging in every excess of lust and blood, until their strength, as well as discipline, were considerably exhausted and relaxed. They were in no mood to meet the redoubtable Dion, and withdrew into their fortification. Nypsius, a capable commander, collected as many of his men as were still in a condition to fight, and ranged them along the wall, placing the strongest guards at the entrances—the weakest points—through which an enemy would try to penetrate. At each of these a fierce struggle took place; but the demoralised bands of Nypsius could not long resist the assault of Dion's soldiers, fresh and full of ardour; or that of the Syracusans, animated by revenge, to whom the contest was one for life or death. The garrison was overpowered and soon abandoned the outer fortification, seeking refuge in the citadel of Ortygia.

Dion did not follow them, but spent the next day and night in the difficult task of stopping the conflagration. The citizens, full of repentance and deep gratitude to him who had thus twice saved them from utter ruin, crowded round him with expressions of entire devotion and earnest prayers for forgiveness.

The lately elected "generals," conscious how little mercy they would have shown towards him, fled from his just wrath—all, alas! but Heracleides and Theodotes, his most dangerous enemies. They knew his character and resolved to throw themselves upon his mercy. And he, in spite of the warnings of his best friends, forgetting that the fate of Syracuse, as well as his own, was involved in his decision, forgave them with a foolish magnanimity. He even sought

to excuse his conduct to his wiser friends, who had exhorted him to rid the city of a base and insidious intriguer, his own implacable mortal enemy. "I have learned from Plato," he said, "that the hardest contest is with one's own passions; and the victory over them is the most sublime and glorious. If Heracleides has been faithless and wicked, shall I dishonour myself by indulging my wrath against him? Moreover, few men are so steeped in villainy, as not to be softened and reclaimed by gentle and generous treatment." And by this ridiculous generosity, which conciliated no enemy and won for him no friend, Dion sealed his own fate, and that of Syracuse.

After repairing the blockading wall which protected him from the sallies of the garrison of Ortygia, he called an assembly to elect new generals in the place of those who had fled. Heracleides, with mock respect and humility, rose and proposed that Dion should be appointed as sole commander, with the fullest powers by sea and land. All the more distinguished and sensible citizens agreed; but the seamen, who had been previously gained over by Heracleides, cried out, with loud shouts, that he should be made Admiral of the fleet. To this also Dion, in his fatal blindness, agreed. The only measure which he steadily resisted was that for the redistribution of the land—a resistance which brought on him the hatred of the poorer citizens.

Dion was now, practically, absolute master of Syracuse, although his position and authority were not accurately defined. But his deadly enemy, Heracleides, was all-powerful at sea, and in no way responsible to Dion for his actions. He went with the fleet to Messene, and, calling an assembly in that city, openly accused Dion of aiming at the tyranny. The Spartan, Pharax, who commanded some troops for Dionysius, pitched his camp in the Agrigentine territory, near the town of Neapolis; and Dion did not think it prudent to attack Pharax in his camp. He

was compelled to do so by the taunts and insinuations of Heracleides and the sailors, who said that Dion prolonged the war in order to remain chief of the army. Dion was defeated, as he had expected, but not very badly, and he intended to renew the assault next day. But the news now reached him that Heracleides, with the whole fleet, had started for Syracuse, intending to close the gates on Dion.

Dion knew what that meant, and quitting his camp, he rode with his best horsemen to Syracuse, accomplishing the journey of eighty miles (1700 stadia) in the shortest possible time, and forestalling Heracleides and the fleet. Heracleides, having failed with Pharax, of whom we hear nothing more, now brought forward another tool of his own, the Spartan, Gæsylus, who said that he was sent by Sparta to take command of the Syracusan army, as Gylippus had done at the time of the Athenian siege. But this time Dion was not to be gulled; he told Gæsylus that there were many Syracusans fit to lead, and that, if a Spartan was absolutely necessary, he himself was a citizen of Sparta. Gæsylus, who seems to have been too honest a man to be the accomplice of so great a scoundrel as Heracleides, saw that the only thing he could do for the latter was to reconcile him to Dion.

The fleet, which was not a permanent institution, was now brought ashore and the sailors disbanded. Whoever had money could easily and quickly raise a fleet, in case of emergency. Gæsylus was clear-sighted enough to see that Heracleides was entirely in the wrong; and forced him to bind himself, by the most solemn oaths, to cease from his intrigues. And Dion, with his foolish magnanimity, forgave him again!

Meantime, the garrison in Ortygia was running short of provisions, and Apollocrates had no alternative but to surrender to Dion. He agreed to hand over the citadel, with all it contained, on condition of being allowed to carry away his mother and sisters,

and as much treasure as would fill five ships. Dion agreed, and the Syracusans made no objection. They kept a general holiday, rejoicing that the oldest and most powerful tyranny in Sicily had been so quickly overthrown. The departure of Apollocrates took place in the year 355 B.C. (Olympiad 106, second year). As Dion entered the citadel he was met by his sister Aristomache, his wife Arete, and his son, none of whom he had seen for twelve years. Aristomache took Arete by the hand and led her to Dion, saying: "I had the misery of seeing this poor creature married, against her will, to another man; and now she knows not whether she dare call herself your wife." Dion embraced her tenderly, and took her and her son to his new abode, having wisely resolved to live no longer in the fortress, for fear of exciting suspicion. But his renewed home-life was soon embittered by the death of his son, whom Dionysius had purposely reared in habits of debauchery and riot, and who fell one day from the roof of the house, and perished.

Dion, however, was now at the height of outward prosperity and glory. All Greece had witnessed, with surprise and admiration, his rapid victory over the most powerful of Greek despotisms, achieved with a most insignificant force and without any aid from the great Greek Powers. And now the day of trial was come. His power was absolute; what would he do with it? He despised popularity, and did nothing to acquire it. His repellent haughtiness and aloofness were rather increased than mitigated by his success. He did not demolish the fortifications of Ortygia, by which Dionysius had been able to control and enslave the Syracusans. The only change was, that *his* mercenaries occupied the place instead of those of the tyrant. Yet he had no other wish than to improve his countrymen and to make them happy. He saw that the Syracusans had been so utterly demoralised by a despotism of fifty years' duration

that they were incapable of governing themselves. He had, therefore, no desire to restore the old democracy, a form of government to which he was entirely averse. In his inmost heart, probably, he thought that the best thing for the Syracusans would be to substitute himself, as a wise, just, and benevolent despot, in place of the base and cruel Dionysian dynasty. We gather from the writings of Plato that he thought of creating a tripartite constitution, combining monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; a form of government of which Tacitus says: "All nations and cities are governed, either by the people, or by the chiefs, or by the monarch; a form of government chosen from these three, and in which these are combined, is more easily praised than likely to be realised; and, if realised, not likely to be of long duration." How prophetic of the British constitution, in which it was once realised! It was not only the Syracusan people who were incapable of governing. Dion was not less so; with the ideals of the Academy before his eye, which were of course incapable of fulfilment, he pursued no practical object, but vacillated from one scheme to another, and, meantime, ruled despotically.

Heracleides, who readily took oaths because he never intended to keep them, and who evidently had no fear of the Gods, renewed his intrigues against Dion. He posed as the friend of the people against the "tyrant," as he called Dion. The latter irritated the citizens by opposing their wishes in trifling matters. They naturally wished to celebrate their triumph by destroying the magnificent tomb of the elder Dionysius. Dion would not allow it, nor would he dismantle the citadel. Heracleides, of course, violently opposed the establishment of a monarchical constitution with Dion as king, and sowed suspicion and calumny among the people. This decided his fate; Dion, who had, in opposition to his wiser friends, hitherto protected Heracleides, now allowed

them to assassinate him. The people were violently excited by this deed, not so much from love of Heracleides as for fear that Dion was now about to follow in the bloody footsteps of his predecessor. Heracleides, too, had gained favour with the citizens by demanding that Dion should fulfil his promises of restoring freedom. Dion vainly sought to mitigate their wrath by according to Heracleides a magnificent funeral.

The position of Dion now became extremely precarious. He had lost his hold on the hearts of the citizens; and, being fully aware of this, he sought to bind his mercenaries more closely to him, by increased pay and lavish largesses. But when his resources failed and he had spent all his own money, and drawn largely on that of his friends; even his own soldiers, who did not fear him and rather despised his dreamy, philosophic character, became disaffected. His once devoted friends grew weary of his dreamy, unpractical ways, his vague, uncertain purposes, and continual vacillation; they felt that they were working and suffering for a man who could achieve nothing. The discontent became general, and was unchecked by spies and informers, whom he disdained to employ. He was well aware of the danger of his position, and of the plots against his life; yet he would do nothing to defend himself. "I would rather," he said, "die by the hands of an assassin than live on, mistrusting both enemies and friends."

And Dion had too good reason to mistrust his friends. Calippus, an Athenian, his intimate friend, a pupil of Plato, and one who had initiated Dion into the sacred Eleusinian mysteries, was the man who now took the lead in the plot against Dion's life. Calippus thought that when Dion was removed he might himself attain to supreme power. As he enjoyed the entire confidence of Dion, his task was comparatively easy. He posed as Dion's faithful guardian, instilled into his mind suspicions of his best

soldiers, and persuaded him to renew the former system of espionage. He told Dion that he could best defend him from conspirators by pretending to put himself at their head, and he was thus able to carry out his murderous plan under the very eyes of Dion. Dion's mind was deeply affected by all the tales of disaffection and treason with which Calippus filled his ears. He grew more and more nervous and gloomy, and was alarmed by horrible visions. One evening, as he sat alone in his house, he saw a tall female figure, like one of the Erinnyes, sweeping the house with a broom. In the utmost terror, he called loudly to his servants, and begged them not to leave him, lest the dread phantom should return.

Dion was completely blinded by the artifices of Calippus, but not so his wife Arete and his sister Aristomache. They suspected and watched Calippus, and at last severely questioned him. The foul traitor then assured them, with many tears and protestations of fidelity, that he meditated no evil against Dion, and would gladly take the most solemn oaths. They made him take the most fearful oaths by which a Greek could bind himself; entering the sacred grove of Demeter (Ceres) and Cora (Proserpine) clad in a purple mantle, and with a burning torch in his hand, he touched the garments of the Goddesses and invoked the most fearful judgment upon his own head if he should perjure himself. How little this dread ceremony meant to Calippus is proved by the fact that he chose the day of the "Coreia," the festival of the Eleusinian Goddesses, for the execution of his atrocious scheme.

He surrounded the house of Dion by a company of soldiers, and then sent in a band of Zacynthians, unarmed, into the room where Dion was sitting in company with some friends. They seized Dion and tried to strangle him, but he resisted with such force that they could not kill him in that way, and as they had no weapons, they could only hold him fast, like a

sacrificial victim. At last one of the assassins went down to a back door and borrowed from Lycon, a Syracusan, a short sword which he handed in through the window, and with this they slew him. Then they seized Aristomache and Arete and threw them into prison. No one sought to avenge Dion, but, like Heracleides, he was borne to the grave with splendid funeral rites. Thus perished Dion, a man of the highest character and the noblest aspirations, but filled with false ideals which it was impossible to realise.

CHAPTER XXXIII

TIMOLEON

THE accounts of events in Syracuse which took place between the death of Dion, in 353 B.C., and the mission of Timoleon, in 344 B.C., are extremely meagre and inexact. They speak of a succession of bloody-minded adventurers who lived like brigands in the city, plundering wholesale, because they knew that their rule was precarious and would certainly be short.

Calippus thought it prudent to declare that he had slain Dion in the cause of liberty, and that he purposed to re-establish popular government. He wrote a letter to Athens claiming the honours of a regicide. But as he was left in possession of the citadel and the army of mercenaries, he felt himself strong enough to throw off the mask, and he showed the unhappy Syracusans that they had only exchanged a virtuous and benevolent master for a brutal and merciless tyrant.

One of his first and worst acts was to send Aristomache and Arete to prison, where the latter, Dion's wife, gave birth to a son. These ladies were kept in confinement by Calippus during the greater part of his rule, which lasted thirteen months (354-3 B.C.). When he was deposed they were released by Hicetas, the tyrant of Leontini, who had been a friend of Dion's. He, for a while, treated them kindly, but he afterwards put them on board a vessel bound for the Peloponnesus,

giving orders to the captain to slay them on the passage and cast their bodies into the sea.

Calippus lost his hold on Syracuse by attempting to extend his dominion. He marched out of Syracuse with his army, and attacked and captured Catana. Hipparinus, son of the elder Dionysius, took advantage of his absence to raise a revolt against Calippus, who had made himself odious by atrocious acts of cruelty. Calippus hastened back to Syracuse with his troops, but was defeated in a battle with Hipparinus, and was compelled to be satisfied with the possession of Catana. He failed also in an attempt on Messene, but succeeded in taking Rhegium by surprise. There he was well received by the people, and rewarded them by sallying from the citadel with his mercenaries and committing every kind of atrocity, plunder, rape, and murder on the defenceless citizens. There he was murdered by his own friends Leptines and Polysperchon, with the same dagger which had been used by the assassins of Dion.

Our chief sources of information on the wretched state of affairs at this period are the letters of the philosopher Plato. He and all the members of the Academy in Athens had deeply deplored the failure and the miserable death of Dion, who stood so high in his great master's favour. He draws a sad picture of the state of Sicily at this time, and even goes so far as to say that the very existence of the Hellenic race and the Greek language was imperilled. But the remedy which he proposes for the cure of the disease of the body politic is, as we might expect, entirely mistaken and inefficacious. He entreats the rival parties to avert the impending ruin of Syracuse and of all Sicily by an agreement between the leaders—Dionysius the younger, Hipparinus, and the son of Dion. He advises them to establish a triple hereditary kingship in the persons of these three candidates. With the reservation of these rights to the ruling families, the government should be popular and just to all classes of citizens.

No notice was taken of these propositions by the parties concerned. Dionysius II, when expelled from Syracuse, took refuge in Locri, which his father had added to the Syracusan dominion. Even there he could hardly maintain himself against the rage of the citizens, excited to madness by his cruelty, and still more by his licentious outrages on the Locrian maidens. But, for a time, he kept them in check by two strong citadels and a large body of troops under the command of the Spartan, Pharax. When the larger part of this military force was drawn away to Syracuse, to be placed under his son, Apollocrates, who took possession of Ortygia for the second time, then the Locrians rose in fierce revolt and destroyed the weakened garrison in their city. They also took captive the women of the tyrant's family, and in spite of Dionysius' offer to pay an enormous ransom, first treated them with atrocious brutality and then strangled them.

Dionysius II, as was the manner of returning exiles, raged more fiercely in Syracuse than during his first dominion, and the despairing citizens, especially the aristocracy, turned for help to Hicetas, the tyrant of Leontini. This city had thrown off the yoke of Dionysius in 356 B.C., and Philistus, with two thousand foot and one thousand horse, had been unable to retake it; but Dionysius II. and his party took refuge there when Calippus made himself master of Syracuse. Subsequently Leontini fell under the power of Hicetas, once the friend of Dion and afterwards, as we have seen, the murderer of Dion's wife and sister.

Hicetas gladly acceded to the request of the Syracusans to furnish a sufficient force to expel Dionysius II. from their city. He hoped to succeed to the tyrant's throne. But now a danger threatened Sicily from which the Syracusans saw that Hicetas alone could deliver them. Carthage, which had been held in check by the great power of the Dionysian rulers of Syracuse, now resumed her pretensions to the possession of Sicily, and the expulsion of the Greeks

The circumstances were evidently favourable to the accomplishment of her design. Tyranny and anarchy reigned throughout the island. Catana was ruled by Mamercus, a wealthy and warlike chief of Italian origin, but Græcised, and a writer of tragedies. Leptines ruled in Apollonia and Engyion, Nicodemus in Centoripa, and Apolloniades in Agyrion. The Carthaginians knew by experience that any of these despots would join them if they thought that by so doing they could advance their own selfish ends. There was no question of Hellenic patriotism, and the mournful prophecy of Plato's eighth letter, that Sicily would become Punic or Oscan, seemed about to be fulfilled.

The only capable and honourable man of the tyrants was Andromachus of Tauromenium, father of the historian Timæus; it was he who, in 358 B.C., founded, or rather re-founded, Tauromenium for the Sicels.

The Carthaginians saw their opportunity and prepared an armament of fifty ships of war, fifty thousand soldiers, three hundred waggons, two thousand mule cars for provisions, and abundant munitions of war. They formed alliances with most of the tyrants, and among them with Hicetas. The Syracusans, little knowing that their nominal friends and protectors were allied with their enemies, sent envoys, not to Sparta, which was thoroughly demoralised, but to Corinth, their own mother city, asking her aid. The late representatives of Sparta in Sicily were indeed either insignificant, like Gæsyclus, or thoroughly corrupt, like Pharax. The Syracusans, turning to Corinth in their distress, gave a touching proof of the strong and enduring ties which existed between a Grecian metropolis and its colonies.

The treacherous Hicetas did not oppose the application to Corinth, knowing how small a force she would be able to send. Corinth was well ruled by a moderate aristocracy and had escaped the evils both

of tyranny and of mob-rule. The "Sacred War" in Greece had just been ended by the defeat of the Phocians and the triumph of Philip of Macedon; and in 346 B.C. (Olympiad 108-3) a peace was proclaimed, which no one dared to break. The Corinthians had their hands free, and listened with sympathy to the woeful tale of their distressed colonists. A decree was passed by acclamation in the Corinthian Assembly to send immediate help to Syracuse.

But how? Corinth had no large forces by sea or land at her disposal to match the myriad hosts of the Carthaginian invader. Yet such was the confidence they felt in their own superiority, as Greeks over barbarians, that they thought it sufficient to send a capable commander, with a small but picked body of men. When the matter was debated in the Forum, and the Archons seemed to have no one to propose, a man in the crowd, evidently inspired by the God, cried out, "Timoleon!" and the cry was taken up by the whole assembly.

Timoleon was born in 411 B.C. (Olympiad 92-2), the son of Timodemus and Demarista, of a distinguished Corinthian family. He was in all respects a brave, virtuous, and honourable man; but his leading, all-dominating characteristic was intense patriotism, which, as we shall see, triumphed even over family affection. He had a brother called Timophanes, who was aiming at the tyranny, and seemed likely to succeed, as he stood very high in the favour of the common people for his bravery and military achievements. Timoleon had saved this brother's life, at the risk of his own, in a battle against the Argives and Cleonians, when Timophanes, who commanded the cavalry, was thrown from his horse close to the enemy; Timoleon, who was serving as a hoplite, saw his brother fall, rushed alone from the ranks, covered him with his shield till help arrived, and though himself wounded, carried him off to a place of safety.

The Corinthians were at this time in fear of a second attack by the Athenians, who had failed in one attempt to seize their city. They were unwilling to arm the people for fear they should overthrow the moderate aristocratic government under which the city had prospered greatly. But they thought it necessary to raise a force of four hundred mercenaries as a garrison of their strong and lofty citadel. Of this force they unfortunately made Timophanes commander, and he used it as his own personal body-guard. The possession of the fort, the command of a body of soldiers entirely devoted to his person, and the favour of the mob, made Timophanes practically master of the city, and he began at once to play the tyrant. He knew that the leading members of the government were opposed to his treasonable designs, and he seized many of the most honourable men who would not accept his rule, and put them to death without a trial. He also took into his service the most violent of his partisans among the lowest class. The Corinthians repented when too late, and saw no means of putting down the despot whom they had foolishly furnished with instruments for their own destruction.

To Timoleon the base conduct of his beloved brother caused the keenest anguish. He went to him and implored him, by the sacred ties of kindred, by reverence for the Gods, and by pity for his fellow-citizens, to depart from his evil ways, and to resign his usurped tyrannical power. Timophanes scornfully rejected his brother's prayers. Timoleon had now the awful alternative before him, either to see his native city subject to the degrading and bloody tyranny of his brother, or to remove him by assassination, and to be pursued through life by the avenging Erinnyes as a fratricide!

In this fearful dilemma he went to the prophet Orthagoras and offered sacrifices to the Gods to ascertain their will. Then he tried once more to save

his brother. Taking with him Æschylus, the brother of Timophanes' wife, Orthagoras the prophet, and probably a friend named Telecleides, he went to Timophanes; and with earnest supplications, with a flood of tears, besought him by all that is holy to abandon his evil ways, and to give back their freedom to the citizens. It was all in vain; Timophanes only laughed at them, and with anger at their importunity bade them to be gone.

Then, and not till then, Timoleon turned away and covered his face with his hands, while his companions despatched the tyrant with their swords.

The general sentiment among the wiser Corinthians was one of unbounded joy at their deliverance from a hateful bondage. But there were some, who had no objection to tyranny, and had hoped to profit by the favour of the tyrant, who denounced the brother and the brother-in-law as unholy fratricides. Among these was Timoleon's own mother, Demarista, who disowned and cursed him as the slayer of her son.

His mother's curses, coinciding with his own remorseful feelings, had so terrible an effect on Timoleon, that he refused all food and wished to die of starvation. His friends with difficulty roused him from his despair; but he avoided all intercourse with his fellow-citizens and took no part in public life.

For twenty long years he lived in lonely retirement and looked on himself as a God-forsaken criminal. But when the Syracusans in their dire distress applied for help to Corinth, and when the divinely-inspired voice from the crowd called on *him* to lead what was generally looked on as a forlorn hope, he suddenly cast off his excessive, almost morbid penitence for a deed, sublime though terrible, inspired by the noblest passions of the human heart, and responded to the call! As soon as the vote had passed the Senate, appointing him commander of the auxiliary force, Timoleon set zealously to work to collect troops and supplies. But the Corinthians were not forward in

following him in his dangerous enterprise. A few of the leading men of Corinth, Eucleides, Telemachus, and Neon, his personal friends, were ready to accompany him; but he could enrol only one thousand common soldiers; and even these appear to have been miscellaneous mercenaries from various quarters. He was able only to equip seven triremes, to which the Coreyræans added two during the voyage.

The enthusiasm of Timoleon's men was somewhat damped by letters from Hicetas, who renounced his connexion with Corinth and warned the Corinthians against sending any expedition to Sicily. He further said that, failing help from Greece, he had been obliged to enter into an alliance with the Carthaginians, who would certainly not allow a Corinthian army to enter Syracuse.

But though men were backward and half-hearted in aiding Timoleon, the Gods were conspicuously favourable. The oracle at Delphi predicted his success; and while he was in the temple a fillet fell from one of the statues upon his head. The encouragement he received from Demeter (Ceres) and Cora (Proserpine) was still more striking; the priestesses of the latter Goddess were ordered, in a vision, to prepare for a voyage, as they intended to go with Timoleon to her beloved island. On hearing this welcome announcement, Timoleon fitted up a sacred vessel to convey the two Goddesses to Syracuse. On the night passage from Corcyra to the Italian coast, this holy trireme was flooded with light from the sky; and a blazing torch, like those which were used in the Eleusinian mysteries, flamed on high and guided the pilots to Metapontum. The soothsayers gave the most favourable interpretation of these remarkable phenomena, declaring that it was the intention of the Goddesses to go in person to Sicily with Timoleon.

Meanwhile, Hicetas had openly proclaimed his alliance with the Carthaginians, who sent detachments of their powerful fleet to the coast of Sicily. They

first went on to Entella, which was held by Campanians, who prudently kept within their walls and sent to friendly towns for assistance. But fear of the great Carthaginian armament deterred them from sending troops or ships, and Galeria alone made an effort to save the Campanians. The latter, to the number of a thousand, actually marched out from Entella; but on their way to Galeria they were cut to pieces by the Carthaginians, and the town of Entella was closely blockaded.

Hicetas at the same time was succeeding in his contest against Dionysius II. He marched to Syracuse, and entrenched himself at the temple of Olympian Zeus, near the Great Harbour; but want of provisions obliged him soon to return to Leontini. Dionysius pursued him in his retreat, and furiously attacked his rear-guard, but was totally defeated, losing three thousand men. Hicetas then turned back and re-entered Syracuse with the fugitives, getting possession of the whole city, except the citadel of Ortygia.

Even before this great success, Hicetas had sent off a messenger in a Carthaginian ship-of-war to Timoleon, who was found at Metapontum. The envoy, in the name of Hicetas, earnestly advised him for his own sake not to proceed to Sicily. Timoleon saw through the pretended friendship of Hicetas and hastened on to Rhegium, which had sent him an invitation. He was just on the point of starting for Sicily when a second messenger from Hicetas arrived, inviting him in the most friendly terms to come alone to Syracuse, and help him to drive Dionysius from the island. He said that Timoleon's Greek army was not wanted, as he was perfectly able to deal with the tyrant alone. He added that the Carthaginians, who had twenty triremes lying near Rhegium, would prevent his landing in Sicily by force of arms.

The Greeks with Timoleon were furious at the now openly manifested treachery of Hicetas; but they, like

their leader, saw that it was impossible to force their way through a hostile fleet at least double the strength of their own. In this situation, where force was of no avail, Timoleon had recourse to a stratagem, in which he was zealously aided by the Rhegines. He returned the answer to Hicetas that, after his statements and advice, there seemed to be nothing for him to do but to return to Corinth. But he must get the sanction of the people of Rhegium, from which the Corinthians would see that it was not his fault if he returned home *re infectâ*. The magistrates of Rhegium, accordingly, called an assembly, and ordered the gates of the city to be closed, in order, as they said, that the meeting might not be disturbed; but really that no one should leave the city without their permission. When all were assembled, the Rhegine generals, who were in collusion with Timoleon, rose one after another, and made lengthy orations, talking against time, with the sole object of giving Timoleon the needful opportunity for carrying out his plan. They were aided, though unconsciously, in prolonging the debate as much as possible by the envoys of Hicetas, who indulged their vanity in long and ornate speeches. While the tedious and diffuse harangues were going on, the Corinthian ships, one after another, stole out of the harbour, unhindered by the Carthaginian sailors, who were mostly on shore, until only the admiral's ship was left behind. Then, at a given sign, Timoleon left the crowded market-place without being noticed and went on board his trireme. The Rhegines were delighted at the successful trick; and when the Carthaginians complained of the double-dealing of Timoleon, they asked, mockingly, if there was no such thing as "Punic faith"?

Timoleon sailed to Tauromenium, whose ruler, Andromachus, the only one who was not frightened by Carthaginian threats, received him gladly. He was now in Sicily, indeed, but with little chance of success. The traitor Hicetas was in possession of the

whole of Syracuse, except Ortygia: the Carthaginian fleet was in great strength, and on the watch; and there was a large land force, under Hanno, in the west of the island, so that no other city dared to join Timoleon's standard. His position, however, became improved by the adhesion of the Sicel towns of Hadranum, a place insignificant in size and population, but universally known throughout Sicily as the centre of the cult of the God Hadranus, and very important from its position. There were, as usual, two parties in the town, one which sent an invitation to Timoleon, and the other to Hicetas. Hicetas, being nearer than Timoleon to Hadranum, marched thither with five thousand men, and encamped outside the walls. Timoleon, with his small force, had to march 340 stadia from Tauromenium, knowing that Hicetas had got the start of him.

At first he marched slowly, taking care that no tidings of his movement should reach the enemy; but on the second day he made all possible haste, choosing the shortest route, however rugged and difficult. When he arrived within three miles of Hadranum, he was informed that Hicetas was still in camp outside the walls; and he determined to attack at once. His officers asked him to give the men time to refresh themselves after their long and toilsome march. But Timoleon harangued the men, pointing out how advantageous it would be to come upon the enemy unaware and unarmed at their meal-time. Though he had marched on foot, like the others, and was much fatigued, he carried his own shield and placed himself at their head, and they gladly followed him at a rapid pace, and fell upon the army of Hicetas, which was completely taken by surprise and fled without resistance. Very few of the fugitives were slain, only three hundred in all; but six hundred were made prisoners, and the rich booty of the camp fell to the victors. Hicetas escaped, and retreated to Syracuse with the bulk of his army.

The Hadranites meantime had witnessed strange portents which proved to them that their God, Hadranus himself, had fought on the side of Timoleon. While the battle was proceeding the gates of the temple flew open, and the God himself was seen, bathed in sweat, and brandishing his lance! The Hadranites, therefore, did not hesitate to surrender their town to a favourite of their God, and came out to meet Timoleon with every mark of reverence and homage. Other towns, anxious only to be on the winning side, now followed the example of Hadranum. Tyndaris offered an alliance with Timoleon; and Mamercus, tyrant of Catana, a rich and warlike man, openly espoused his cause and supplied him with troops and money. Timoleon now felt himself strong enough to march to Syracuse and to challenge Hicetas to come out and fight. Hicetas wisely declined to do battle with the victor of Hadranum and with the Gods.

Timoleon, however, was by no means strong enough to attack the well-fortified city, and had it been held by capable and energetic rulers he would have been obliged to retire. But the Gods were with him still. Dionysius II. saw that he could only retain his position by hard fighting, either with Hicetas or with Timoleon, or with both; the prospect appalled him, for he was an idle drunkard, and only cared for sovereignty because it enabled him to live a life of self-indulgence and debauchery. "The tented field" had no charms for him; he longed to purchase for himself a safe retreat in Corinth, with his family, his luxuries, and his treasures. He therefore proposed a capitulation to Timoleon, who gladly agreed to it. The negotiations were carried on with the utmost secrecy, for both Hicetas and the Carthaginians were powerful enough to have prevented Dionysius from surrendering the city and leaving it by sea.

There was no difficulty in arranging the terms of surrender; the tyrant agreed to give up the

impregnable citadel of Ortygia with all its vast treasures and munitions of war, and with its garrison of mercenaries; he only asked in return a safe retreat, and an undisturbed residence in the mother-city, Corinth.

Some four hundred men, under command of the Corinthians Eucleides, Telemachus, and Neon, were sent in small detachments into Ortygia, and succeeded in escaping the notice of the enemy. Dionysius, with his moveable property, escaped out of the city to the camp of Timoleon, who sent him in a trireme to Corinth, bearing with him the astounding news of Timoleon's complete victory, and his agreement with Dionysius that the latter should be allowed a safe and peaceful residence in Corinth.

The acquisition of the citadel by Timoleon was of immense value to him. He found in it a vast store of provisions, arms for seventy thousand men, a number of horses, and two thousand brave, well-trained mercenaries, who immediately took service under him.

Thus ended the Dionysian dynasty, which had lasted sixty years, from 405 B.C. to 344 B.C.; Dionysius the Elder having reigned from the former date to 367 B.C., when he died and was succeeded by Dionysius II.; who, though for a time expelled from Syracuse by Dion, in 356 B.C., still claimed to reign, and actually ruled at Locri, and returned to his fortress of Ortygia after eight years' absence.

The arrival of the trireme at Corinth with the almost incredible account of Timoleon's victory, and with the once terrible Dionysius in person, caused the greatest outburst of joy. So universal had been the feeling that Timoleon's expedition had not the slightest chance of success that hardly any of the better class of citizens had joined him. But his success changed their feelings towards him; and they now eagerly desired to serve under so skilful a leader, so manifestly favoured by the blessed Gods. They now

unanimously voted to send him a reinforcement of two thousand hoplites and two hundred horse. The fallen tyrant of Syracuse was an object of great curiosity to the people of Corinth; but his want of dignity and his debauched habits exposed him to ridicule and contempt. It was not only the Corinthians who crowded round him, but large numbers of visitors from other parts of Greece came to Corinth on purpose to see him. Many stories are told of his bearing and his habits, very derogatory to a man who was once a king. He was to be seen in the marketplace, haggling with the women about the price of vegetables, and he frequented the barbers' shops and the taverns to which the lowest of the people resorted. Yet one who had consorted with Plato cannot have been altogether devoid of literary culture. It is therefore not surprising to read in Plutarch that Dionysius opened a school, in which he taught boys to read, "in order," says Cicero, "that he might have some one to torture." He also gave instruction to public singers in the art of singing and reciting. He was always ready with an apposite answer to those who sought to ridicule and browbeat him. When some one asked him what he had gained by studying philosophy under Plato, he replied: "Do you consider it nothing, that I have learned to bear my reverse of fortune calmly?" Another man, on entering the house of Dionysius, shook his garment, as if the ex-tyrant might suspect him of concealing weapons. This was probably done in mockery; for Dionysius said: "You ought rather to shake out your garment when you *leave* me, that I may know that you have not stolen my goods." We can hardly account for the poverty into which he was said to have fallen; for Timoleon allowed him to take whatever he liked from his vast treasures; and he is said to have sold his magnificent furniture to another Dionysius, tyrant of Heracleia in Pontus, for which he must have received a large sum of money. Clearchus of Soli,

one of Aristotle's pupils, reports that Dionysius became a "metiagurt," a begging priest of Cybele; these strange mendicants went about beating a drum, mutilating themselves, and collecting alms for the Great Mother of the Gods; they were the scum of the earth, ready to commit any crime for money.

The auxiliary force voted by Corinth was now equipped and sent to Thurii; but the Carthaginian squadron in the Straits of Messene barred its passage to Syracuse by sea. Timoleon returned to Hadranum, after having taken possession of Ortygia and sent off Dionysius to Corinth. And now, again, the favour of the God at Hadranum was strikingly exhibited towards him. Hicetas was in great dread of Timoleon and sought to remove him by foul means; he suborned two assassins and sent them to Hadranum with orders to slay Timoleon. These men heard that he was to offer sacrifices to the Gods on a certain day in one of the temples. They pushed their way through the crowd to the altar and were on the point of falling upon Timoleon, when a man rushed from the throng and killed one of the two murderers with his sword; the other said that he had been sent by Hicetas and he was allowed to escape. The opportune slayer of the first villain was then examined, and declared that he was only taking just revenge upon one who had murdered his father in Leontini. The Hadranites saw in his deed the intervention of the Gods in favour of Timoleon and gave the man ten minæ.

In spite of the valuable acquisition of the citadel in Ortygia the success of Timoleon was not yet secured. Hicetas still held all the rest of Syracuse, and he now summoned the aid of the Carthaginians. A hundred and fifty of their ships entered the Great Harbour, and Hicetas opened the city gates to fifty thousand of their soldiers, under the command of Magon. Yet neither Neon, who commanded in the citadel, nor Timoleon, who was now at Catana, gave up hope, trusting in the favour of the Gods. Neon organised

a fleet of small vessels, which in stormy weather ran the blockade of the Carthaginian ships and brought provisions into Ortygia. As these supplies came mostly from Catana, Hicetas and Magon determined to attack that place and cut off all communication between the two cities. They therefore marched with the greater part of their land force out of Syracuse, and gave orders to the best of their ships to sail to Catana. Neon, from the walls of Ortygia, witnessed the departure of the best of the enemy's forces and saw his opportunity. He fell upon the remaining troops of Hicetas, whose commanders seem to have neglected their watch, defeated them at all points with great slaughter, and gained possession of Achradina. He then set to work to repair its walls, and united it with Ortygia in one fortification. The news of this soon reached Hicetas, who returned in all haste to Syracuse; but the Carthaginian fleet remained in Italian waters to prevent the Corinthian auxiliary contingent going by sea to Syracuse. The commander of the latter force, therefore, abandoned his intention of taking his troops by sea from Thurii, and determined to march by land to Rhegium. His way lay through the territory of the hostile Brutii, and it was only after encountering many difficulties that he reached Rhegium. On their arrival Timoleon incorporated them with his own army and crossed the Straits to Messene, which he unexpectedly found unguarded.

The Carthaginian admiral, Hanno, grew tired of watching for the Corinthian vessels, and bethought him of a ruse to deceive Neon and his army in Ortygia. He decorated his triremes with garlands, as for a victory; and his sailors, crowned with wreaths, shouted, under the walls of Ortygia, that the Corinthian squadron had been captured or destroyed; and they called on the garrison of the fortress to yield.

This artifice of the Carthaginians may have caused

a momentary panic in Ortygia; but it had no real effect, except the very favourable one to Timoleon of leaving the passage from Rhegium to Sicily unguarded. Here, again, the special favour of the Gods towards Timoleon was clearly shown. The weather, which had been very stormy, became all at once so fair, and the sea so smooth, that the horses swam by the side of the ships. This important reinforcement of Corinthian soldiers enabled Timoleon to assume the offensive, having won over Messene to his side.

He marched thence towards Syracuse, to encounter Hicetas and the Carthaginians; and although even now his force was very small, not more than four thousand in number, he was confident of success.

On arriving before the walls of Syracuse, Timoleon boldly pitched his camp near the Olympeion and the bridge over the Anapus. He was still unable to join forces with the victorious Neon, in Ortygia and Achradina; for Hicetas and Magon occupied Epipolæ, Neapolis, Tyche, and all the land between Epipolæ and the Great Harbour. The unnatural alliance between Hicetas and Magon was weakened by mutual distrust. Magon had little confidence in his ally, and even suspected him of false dealing and treachery; consequently, his operations were carried on with little energy, and he made no effort to recover the ground which Neon had succeeded in wresting from Hicetas. This lack of enthusiasm on the part of Magon naturally irritated Hicetas, and damped the courage of his mercenaries. Frequent truces were made, during which the Greeks in the army of Hicetas and the Corinthians under Timoleon met in friendly intercourse, and fished together in the Anapus and the ponds outside the walls. On so friendly a footing did they soon become that the Corinthians ventured to ask the Greeks of Hicetas' army how they could bear to assist the bloodthirsty barbarians of Carthage to get possession of the noble and magnificent Greek city of Syracuse?

These conversations were reported to Magon, and filled him with alarm. He saw that the troops of Hicetas were unwilling to fight against Timoleon, the favourite of the Gods, in aid of the tyrant and the Carthaginians. The ground seemed to him to be crumbling under his feet, and under these circumstances he resolved to leave Sicily at once. He embarked his troops, and, in spite of the agonised entreaties of Hicetas, sailed back to Carthage.

His departure from the low ground near the Great Harbour, and from the harbour itself, enabled Timoleon to communicate with his troops under Neon in Ortygia, and to arrange a plan for a simultaneous assault on the enemy's position on three sides. Timoleon himself attacked the south front of Epipolæ; the Corinthian Isias led the attack from the side of Achradina; and Demarchus and Demaratus, who had brought the reinforcements from Corinth, were to go round by sea from Ortygia and to land their troops at Trogilus, on the north side of Syracuse and of Epipolæ.

Although Hicetas held Epipolæ, Tyche, and Neapolis, which a capable commander, with faithful troops, might easily have defended, hardly any resistance seems to have been made to the assault. The soldiers of Hicetas were entirely disaffected, and had no desire to prolong his tyranny or to fight in the cause of Carthage. Without any serious loss, Timoleon succeeded in his attack, and made himself master of the whole of Syracuse; Hicetas fled with his followers to Leontini.

Great was the amazement, and still greater the joy, with which the astounding news of Timoleon's rapid and complete success was received in Greece, and especially in Corinth. No one now spoke of him as a fratricide, but as a glorious tyrannicide. Syracuse was once more free, and her freedom was the work of one who thought only of securing the liberty and happiness of the people.

His first act was the demolition of the citadel in Ortygia, the possession of which had enabled the tyrant Dionysius to maintain his despotic power so long. He issued a summons to the Syracusans to appear on a certain day with the necessary tools, to take part in the glorious work of destroying every vestige of the fortifications which had been reared by the tyrant to reduce them to slavery.

For the purpose of completing the free constitution under which the Syracusans were henceforth to live, Timoleon asked the Corinthians to send an experienced statesman and lawgiver, and they sent him two, named Cephalus and Dionysius, who helped him in developing the old legislation of Diocles. As a memorial of the liberation of Syracuse, by the help of the Gods, a new and honourable public office was instituted—that of the “Amphipolus,” the servant of Olympian Zeus. The year of each person holding this office was to be named after him, as in Athens after the first Archons. The first citizen of Syracuse who held the office was Callimemes; and the institution lasted, with unblemished honour, until the conquest of Syracuse by the Romans (212 B.C.) in the reign of Augustus.

The reign of the tyrants had not only degraded and demoralised the people whom it enslaved, but had impoverished, and, to some extent, depopulated the city. Even though we must reject the reports that high grass was growing in the market-place of Syracuse, and that it was occupied by wild boars and stags, its state was certainly most deplorable. Timoleon saw that the only remedy was to invite settlers from Greece, who would not only restore the prosperity of the city, but serve in its defence in the new, inevitable war with Carthage. He therefore sent envoys to Corinth, calling on her to send new colonists to Syracuse, and, for the second time, to become the founder and metropolis of that unfortunate city. As the number of Corinthians and exiled

Siceliots seemed to him insufficient, Timoleon extended his invitation to all Greeks, of every tribe and country. It is said that ten thousand men from Corinth, and a far greater number from Italy and Sicily, responded to the call; so that some sixty thousand new citizens were enrolled in Syracuse. The apportioning of land to this great multitude was a work of the greatest difficulty. Timoleon could only raise sufficient money for his purpose by taxing those citizens who had houses; the lands were equally and gratuitously allotted to old and new citizens alike. The finances of the city were in such a wretched state that, in order to raise money for the coming war with Carthage, the magistrates were compelled to sell public buildings, and even the statues which adorned the public places and the streets; only that of Gelon was exempted, in gratitude for his victory over the Carthaginians.

Having arranged affairs in Syracuse to the best of his ability, Timoleon continued the task of freeing the rest of Sicily from the yoke of tyrants. Hicetas had retired to Leontini, whither Timoleon followed him and assaulted the new part of the town; but the garrison was too strong, and he had to desist from the attack. He then marched against Leptines, the tyrant of Engyion, compelled him to surrender, and granted him his life under a promise to reside in the Peloponnesus as a private citizen. Hicetas took advantage of Timoleon's absence to attack Syracuse, but was beaten back by the inhabitants. He soon found it convenient to come to terms with Timoleon on condition of restoring freedom to the Leontines and residing in their town as a simple citizen.

Timoleon's hands were now sufficiently free to allow him to turn his attention to Carthage. The surrender of Hicetas was, as one might expect, a mere artifice, and he at once renewed his intrigues with the Carthaginians, strongly urging them to invade the island. It was true that Magon had retired from Syracuse,

but he had not been defeated by Timoleon. The Carthaginians were greatly incensed by the return of Magon *re infectâ*; he only escaped a more terrible punishment by suicide, and even then they crucified his dead body. Their wrath against Timoleon and their desire of vengeance were increased by an aggressive movement against their Sicilian possessions. He sent Demarchus and Demaretus to wrest from their dominion as many towns as possible, and, what was even more important, to gain large booty, by the sale of which he could pay his mercenaries. He took the considerable town of Entella, which was inhabited by Campanians who had joined the side of Carthage by the persuasion of some influential men amongst them. The booty there obtained had greatly relieved Timoleon's financial embarrassments. Several other towns now revolted against the dominion of Carthage, and she prepared an armament, on the largest scale, for a fresh invasion of Sicily. This army contained an unusually large proportion of Carthaginian citizens, but the main bulk of it was made up of mercenaries, Celts, Iberians, Ligurians, and others, in all amounting to 70,000 foot with a large force of cavalry and war-chariots, convoyed by two hundred triremes, and carried by over a hundred transports. The expedition, which took place in 339 B.C., was commanded by Hasdrubal and Hannibal.

Timoleon, with his wonted courage and reliance on the divine aid, resolved to go and meet the enemy in their own territory. But the mass of Syracusans did not share his confidence; they were terrified by the enormous Carthaginian army; so that, according to Plutarch, only three thousand free citizens joined him, besides whom he had but four thousand mercenaries; Diodorus gives his force as 12,000 in all. His best trained soldiers were, of course, the mercenaries, but even these showed little enthusiasm in the cause. Their pay was in arrears, and one of their officers named Thrasius, a desperate villain who had joined

TIMOLEON MARCHES TO CRIMISUS 289

the Phocians in plundering the temple at Delphi, incited the men to mutiny, exhorting them to return to Syracuse and demand their wages rather than follow a commander who allowed them little or no licence, who was unable to reward them, and who certainly would lead them to defeat and destruction.

It was now that the magic influence of Timoleon's personality was most strikingly displayed. Thrasius, with his mutineers, had actually started to march back to Syracuse, but Timoleon never lost heart; he kept his hold on the rest of his army, and affected to be glad that "the cowards" had been weeded out of it. He marched to the west, straight into the Carthaginian territory, until he came near to the river Crimisus, which rises in the mountains south of Panormus (Palermo) and falls into the sea near Selinus. Meanwhile the Carthaginians were marching along the north branch of the river Hypsas, which they had crossed, and were about to pass the Crimisus, which separated them from Entella, when Timoleon encountered them. He had marched to the northwest, and was on the point of ascending a hill which obstructed the view of the valley of the Crimisus, when he was met by some mules bearing loads of parsley. The soldiers became alarmed, because grave-stones were decked with this herb, but Timoleon, ever ready on an emergency, reminded them that the victors in the Isthmian Games were crowned with garlands of parsley. "The Gods have sent us a supply," he cried, "in token of our approaching victory!" His soldiers readily accepted this interpretation given by one in so close communion with the Gods, and with renewed confidence followed him to the top of the hill.

It was in the month of Thargelion (middle of June) and a thick mist rose from the plain so that the Greeks could not see the Carthaginian army, but only heard the confused roar and clang of a mighty host. The Greeks had laid aside their armour and were resting

on the hill. When the fog cleared they saw the Carthaginians in the act of crossing the river which separated them from Timoleon's troops, so eager were they to win their easy and certain victory. The sight was enough to daunt the stoutest heart; the numerous war-chariots led the way, and were closely followed by the splendidly equipped hoplites, bearing their white shields, who, by their fine armour and their dignified and steady bearing, were known to be citizens of Carthage, the kernel and flower of the army; behind them came the vast multitude of ordinary soldiers, in noisy confusion, with loud cries in many diverse tongues.

Timoleon saw that the moment was eminently favourable for a rapid onslaught. In a few earnest words he pointed out to his men that the enemy was cut in halves by the river, and not yet drawn up in fighting order. For a while he watched the progress of his cavalry, but when he saw that they could not reach the Carthaginian hoplites he ordered those of his front rank to lock their shields together, and, with a mighty, penetrating voice—"the voice of a God," they said—bade them follow him, placing himself at their head, and rushed upon the enemy.

● But the chosen hoplites of Carthage, with their iron breast-plates, brazen helmets, and mighty shields, were not easily to be mastered. The javelins of the Greeks dropped harmless from such armour, and the battle came to be a fight of man to man with swords. In this fierce struggle the superior numbers of the enemy would probably have prevailed, but again the Gods intervened to save their favourite hero. A furious storm arose, and a thick, penetrating shower of hail was blown into the faces of the enemy, blinding their eyes and hindering their movements by filling their heavy armour with ice. The Greeks, on the other hand, were more lightly armed, and the hail only fell upon their backs. The Carthaginians fell, under their burthen, on the slippery ground left by the overflow

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of the river, and, when once down, could not rise again. They resisted bravely, but when the first division of four hundred had yielded to the Greeks and the storm, the rest fled, and suffered more in the flight than in the battle. Many were drowned in the Crimisus, and more were cut down by the Greeks, who closely pursued them even to the mountains. Of the "Sacred Band," so lately rejoicing in their strength and splendour, two thousand five hundred lay stretched upon the field. Ten thousand more of the Carthaginian host were slain, and fifteen thousand taken prisoners; of these, five thousand were reserved as property of the State, while the rest became the prize of the soldiers.

The booty gathered in the field and in the Carthaginian camp was enormous; two hundred war-chariots, horses, arms, and so much gold and silver that bronze and iron were despised; the tent of Timoleon was surrounded with beautifully chased vases and goblets which the grateful soldiers had reserved for their adored leader. A thousand of the breast-plates were remarkable for the exquisite work by which they were decorated, and there were ten thousand shields. With these he adorned the temples of Syracuse, but sent the best to Corinth as offerings to Poseidon (Neptune) and other Gods. They were dedicated in these words: "These, the Corinthians, and their General, Timoleon, after freeing the Hellenes in Sicily from the Carthaginians, set up, as a Thanksgiving to the Blessed Gods."

The conviction, universal amongst the Greeks, that Timoleon stood under the direct inspiration and protection of the Gods, was now shared by the Carthaginians. When the latter reached Lilybæum they for some time did not dare to embark, lest Poseidon (Neptune) should pour out his fury upon them. At Carthage the news of their disastrous defeat in Sicily caused the greatest consternation. Their noblest citizens had fallen, the flower, strength,

and pride of the nation. In their distress they recalled Giscon, the son of Hanno, from exile, and made him commander-in-chief; and they resolved in future to employ only mercenary troops.

Timoleon sent a force to plunder the Carthaginian territory in Sicily, and then returned home. He ordered Thrasius and his mutinous followers to leave Sicily; they went and seized a castle in Bruttium (Abruzzi) and plundered that coast, but the Bruttians soon recaptured the fort and slaughtered all the intruders.

Hicetas, who remained powerful in Leontini, had an able ally in Mamercus, the tyrant of Catana, who placed his chief reliance on the Carthaginians. The latter were anxious in some degree to wipe out the disgrace of the Crimissus, and sent seventy ships to Sicily. The centre of this fresh war seems to have been Messene, whose tyrant, Hippon, was an enemy of Timoleon. But our accounts of this war are scanty and uncertain. Giscon, the Carthaginian general, employed Greek mercenaries, and it seems that Timoleon suffered two reverses—one near Messene, and another under his Leucadian general, Euthymus, in Carthaginian territory. Mamercus wrote some biting verses on these defeats, which so infuriated the Syracusans that they urged Timoleon to lead them against him. Timoleon readily assented, and with a small force invested the town of Calauria. Hicetas, meanwhile, was raiding the country of Syracuse, and making great booty. He marched past Calauria and mocked Timoleon, who quietly allowed him to pass by, and then, with his cavalry and light-armed troops, pursued him and caught him up at the river Damyras. Hicetas had just crossed the river, and thought himself sufficiently protected from attack by the steep banks. The young captains under Timoleon quarrelled for precedence in passing the river, and at last cast lots with rings shaken in a helmet; the first ring that came out had a trophy engraved upon it.

Upon this they burst into shouts of joy, and rushed, all together, into the stream; the army followed them. The enemy were defeated and fled, with the loss of a thousand men.

The Carthaginians now begged for peace, which Timoleon granted, rightly estimating the real position of affairs. The victory over them was simply Timoleon's victory, not that of the Sicilian Greeks, who took but very little part in the war. Hicetas and his son Eupolemus were delivered up by their own soldiers, and were executed by the wish of the Corinthians, who were especially bitter also against one Euthymus, a brave general, because he had quoted some verses from the *Medea* of Euripides derogatory to the Corinthian women. The wife and daughters of Hicetas were taken to Syracuse and were there put to death by a vote of the people, to avenge his act with regard to the widow and sister and child of Dion. If this was done with the sanction of Timoleon it was the only act of cruelty of which he was ever guilty. Then came the turn of Mamercus, who, knowing Timoleon's intention to suppress all the tyrants of Sicily, continued to oppose him. Timoleon marched against Catana; Mamercus met him at the river Abolus and was defeated, with the loss of two thousand men. He endeavoured to escape into Italy, but his escort deserted him, and Catana was surrendered to Timoleon. Then Mamercus fled to Hippon, tyrant of Messene, who received him favourably; but Timoleon marched on to Messene and surrounded it on every side. Hippon sought to escape by sea, but was captured in his ship and delivered up to his former subjects, the Messenians, who called out the schoolboys to mock him and to see him scourged; after which they put him to death. The fate of Mamercus was still more terrible. He gave himself up and agreed to be sent to Syracuse to be tried, and the trial took place in the great theatre. He began his defence, but the people stormed and would not listen. Seeing no

hope he dashed his head against the wall, but the people would not allow him to kill himself; they caught him and crucified him! Other Sicilian despots were put down; as Nicodemus of Centoripa, who fled; Apollonius of Agyrion, who abdicated his rule and retired into private life; and the dangerous Campanians in *Ætna* were reduced to submission.

The first stage in Timoleon's beneficent progress was thus reached; the tyrants were overthrown, the Carthaginians were checked.

He did not confine himself to an endeavour to increase the population and restore the prosperity of Syracuse, but set to work to re-establish the other old and famous cities, and more especially the Dorian. He induced Gorgus of Ceos to lead colonists to Gela; and, at the request of Megillus and Phenistus, re-peopled Agrigentum with settlers from Elea. That once rich and powerful city, which the Carthaginians had ruthlessly destroyed, once more became a place of importance, able to defend itself.

Nothing was done in Sicily without the advice and assistance of Timoleon. He reconciled conflicting parties, apportioned lands, and drew up constitutions. He laboured to promote the welfare of all Sicily, but naturally cared most for Syracuse, to which he transplanted the inhabitants of Leontini and made them citizens. According to a doubtful estimate by Diodorus, Agyrion also received ten thousand new inhabitants from Greece.

Timoleon held no office; partly perhaps, on account of the hereditary weakness of his eyesight; but chiefly because he wished the citizens, long unused to self-government, to act independently of his overwhelming influence. The weakness of his eyes increased, and during the war with Hippon and Mamercus ended in total blindness. He only went to the Assembly when the citizens begged him to give his advice in some critical conjuncture. On these occasions he was always received with tumultuous

applause. Yet he had enemies and traducers. One Laphystius, a popular orator, accused him of some trifle—he could find no subject of serious complaint—and the people angrily shouted down this speaker; whereupon Timoleon rose and said: “I have endured so much danger and toil with *this* sole object, that every man here may say what he thinks and appeal to the laws for his defence.” And when Demænetus attacked his conduct of the war, Timoleon, instead of punishing the caviller, quietly said: “I thank the Gods that I have once more listened to free speech in Syracuse.”

Timoleon lived only a few years in the city he had saved, and died in 336 B.C. at the early age of fifty-five. The citizens, of course, gave him a splendid funeral. Youths were chosen by lot for the honour of bearing his body over the site of the demolished fortress of the tyrant Dionysius; and the whole population followed it, not in mourning, but in fresh bright garments and crowned with garlands, as if doing honour to an immortal God. When the body of the blameless hero had been laid on the pyre, the loudest-voiced of the heralds proclaimed: “The Syracusans bury Timoleon, son of Timodemus the Corinthian, who lies here, at the cost of two hundred minæ; and decree, that for all future time he shall be honoured by contests in music, in gymnastics, and in chariot races; because he overthrew the tyrant, defeated the barbarians, re-peopled the devastated cities, and restored to the Sicilian Greeks their legitimate freedom.” The body was then burned, and its ashes deposited in the market-place, where a monument with the above inscription was erected, and was surrounded by a palæstra and gymnasium, which was named the Timoleonteion.

Timoleon realised Solon’s description of “the happy man,” and was happy, like Agricola, as Tacitus says, “*felix opportunitate mortis*”; for, although with him died all hope of freedom for Sicily, *he* was spared the

anguish of seeing his noble and beneficent work destroyed. So long as he was there, liberty and peace, with their attendant blessings, flourished; when he died, they vanished, like a glorious dream. History shows no more ideal character than that of Timoleon; all his aims were grand and noble, solely directed to promote the welfare of others. Glory did not dazzle him, power did not tempt him to indulge in dreams of ambition, or to exalt himself above his fellows, or to live a life of self-indulgence, as the lord of obedient subjects and slaves. Opinions are divided as to whether Timoleon was, or was not, a man of genius. He must have possessed a lively imagination, to foreshadow such a career as he actually ran—as he ran, too, without the aid of those whom he sought to save and bless.

And surely it was something like genius which enabled him to attach his followers—mostly mercenaries—to his person, in such a degree that they were ready to follow him in the most daring and desperate enterprises. We do not know whether he was a great general; his genius in war was never put to the test. But he had what the Romans thought essential in their generals, *Fortuna*. His only strategy seems to have been to seize the first opportunity of attacking the enemy, with whatever inferiority of numbers and equipment; he fell upon the foe, and left it to the Gods to give him the victory; and they gave it!

He himself ascribed all his successes to the Gods. In a letter to the Sicilians, he thanks the Gods for having done all—in his name. He set up an altar in his house to “Automatia,” the Goddess of Fortune, and dedicated his whole house to her. No man had ever done such great things so easily and quickly with so little human aid. If freedom could have endured in Sicily, it would have been his work; but the moral decay of the people had gone too far to be reached by any remedy.

CHAPTER XXXIV

AGATHOCLES AND CARTHAGE

THE history of the next fifteen years is almost a blank; and we only know that democracy in Syracuse soon gave way to an oligarchy of six hundred members.

Agathocles, like so many remarkable men, had a romantic childhood. His father, Carcinus of Rhegium, a potter, was banished from his city, and went to Therma, in Sicily, then under the dominion of Carthage. He married a woman of Therma; and when the wife was about to bring forth a son, he consulted the oracle at Delphi; the answer was, that the child would cause great evil both to Sicily and to Carthage. The father therefore exposed the babe, and set a watch to prevent any one taking him up. But the watch was negligently kept, and his mother rescued him and took him to the house of Heracleides. She called him Agathocles, after her own father's name. When he was seven years old, his father Carcinus came to a sacrificial festival, by the invitation of Heracleides. He saw the boy at play with his fellows, and admired his superior strength and activity. The mother then remarked to her husband that just so would her boy have been had he lived. Then the heart of Carcinus was touched; he repented of his deed and wept. When his wife revealed the truth he was delighted, and took the child to his bosom.

Agathocles was brought up to his father's trade, the art of pottery being then honourable and important. Carcinus remained for some time at Therma; but when Timoleon gladly welcomed all Greek settlers, removed with his family to Syracuse. There he soon died; and Agathocles lived under the care of his mother, who perceived many indications that he was to accomplish great things. She ordered a stone image of the boy to be carved and set up in a sacred precinct, as a votive offering to the gods. On this statue a swarm of bees built their cells, which portended great power and glory. His great beauty of face and form won for him the favour of a rich and powerful man called Damas, who helped him to the acquisition of large property. Damas also took the boy with him when he went as commander of the Syracusan forces against Akragas (Agrigentum). As he grew up, the youth proved himself a good soldier, brave and circumspect in war, and so strong that he was able to wear heavier armour than any other man. He became, moreover, a persuasive orator in the Assembly. When one of the "Chiliarchs," or captains of a thousand men, died, the appointment was procured for Agathocles by the influence of Damas; and he fulfilled its duties admirably. Damas soon afterwards died, leaving his large fortune to his wife, whom Agathocles immediately married, and thus became the richest man in Syracuse.

As Chiliarch, he was sent to help Croton against the Bruttians, for the Greeks were losing ground in Italy, and Croton and Tarentum were hard pressed by the Bruttians and Lucanians. The commander-in-chief of the Syracusan forces were Heracleides and Sosistratus, leaders of the aristocratic party, men of great power, but of evil disposition. The brother of Agathocles, Antander, also held high office, which shows that the family had gained much influence before the rise of Agathocles. Antander at a later time became the adviser and the historian of his more famous brother.

Agathocles distinguished himself in this war, but did not receive from the heads of the State the honours which he felt due to him. He therefore took the bold step of accusing Sosistratus of aiming at the tyranny. But the party of Sosistratus was too strong for him; and he was obliged to leave Sicily for Italy, where he associated with unscrupulous adventurers like himself. He tried, with their aid, to get possession of Croton, but failed, and narrowly escaped from pursuit by the citizens there. He then took service with Tarentum as a leader of mercenaries; but, falling under suspicion, was forced to resign his command, and fled with a gang of desperate outlaws to Rhegium, which city was then at war with Syracuse, and he fought against his own country.

But now a complete revolution in Syracuse opened to his ambition a new and brighter prospect. Heraclides and Sosistratus fell, and were expelled, and were so vilely unpatriotic as to join the Carthaginians, by whose aid they hoped to be reinstated as masters of Syracuse. Agathocles seized the opportunity, returned to Syracuse, and fought in the ranks of her army, sometimes as a common soldier, sometimes as a leader, exciting great admiration by his daring, his presence of mind, and his extraordinary military talent. His enterprises, however, were so hazardous that they could not always be successful.

On one occasion he lay in ambush, with a thousand men, in a field near Gela, which was occupied by the enemy, and, under cover of night, forced his way into the city; but Sosistratus, who was on the watch, soon returned with a much larger force and drove him out, with a loss of three hundred men, Agathocles himself being covered with wounds. He saved himself by a trick; he sent two trumpeters to the opposite sides of the city, one of whom sounded the alarm, and the other the attack or call to arms. The victorious enemy thought that a fresh hostile force had arrived from Syracuse, and hastened to the

quarter where they expected the assault. Meantime, Agathocles and his men were safe in their entrenched camp.

It was soon seen that he was aiming at supreme power in Syracuse, and on that account he was not made general; the Syracusans elected a Corinthian named Acestorides to be commander-in-chief, with almost dictatorial powers. Acestorides naturally wished to get rid of so dangerous a rival as Agathocles, but did not dare to attack him openly, because he was extremely popular with the common folk. He therefore ordered him to leave Syracuse, and set men to lie in wait for him on the road, and to slay him. Agathocles got word of this plot against him; and having attired a slave, who resembled him, in his own dress and armour, clothed himself in the meanest raiment, mounted his horse, and journeyed by the high road without being recognised, while his slave was murdered by the emissaries of Acestorides.

The expulsion of Agathocles led to new changes in Syracuse. Sosistratus and the other oligarchs returned, and there was, for a time, peace between Syracuse and the Carthaginians. But Agathocles found, elsewhere, frequent opportunities for the display of his strength and courage and eminent military talent. The city of Morgantium made him general of its forces, with which he took possession of Leontini, and made two unsuccessful attacks on Syracuse itself. His ability was recognised by Hamilcar, the Carthaginian general, who wished to come to terms with him. By his influence the Syracusans were persuaded to recall Agathocles, but they stipulated that he should take a solemn oath, in the Temple of Demeter (Ceres), to do nothing against the existing oligarchical constitution. Like Calippus, on a former occasion, Agathocles readily bound himself, by the most sacred and awful oaths, to respect the liberties of the people.

At last he was appointed general, with an especial commission to maintain peace in the city; we can

imagine how *he* would do that! He was now in a mighty position as commander of the army, but in other respects the city was ruled by the aristocracy. Agathocles, of course, took the side of the people, and did all he could to inflame their hatred against their rulers. The oligarchs, on the other hand, regarded the conduct of Agathocles with suspicion and alarm, but were afraid to touch him, on account of his influence with the mob. This situation of affairs could not possibly be lasting.

So long as peace was preserved the generals only ruled over the citizens of Syracuse who were unarmed; but reports now came that the Syracusan party-leaders were collecting arms and troops in the interior of the island, near Herbita, and Agathocles was authorised to raise a force sufficient to meet them. In 317 B.C. he enrolled three thousand men of the most warlike people of Morgantium, who had formerly been his devoted adherents, and who, he knew, were jealous of the power of Syracuse. He also armed a number of the poorer citizens of Syracuse who were bitter enemies of the aristocracy. When all was prepared for a *coup d'état* he assembled his soldiers, in the early morning, in the newly-built "Timoleonteion," and invited Tisarchus and Diocles, the chiefs of the ruling Six Hundred, to a conference. They came, but brought forty-two friends with them. Agathocles cried out that these men were plotting against his life, and ordered them to be seized. He then harangued his troops, declaring that, on account of his devotion to the cause of the people, such intrigues were practised against him. The soldiers, greatly excited, called on him to have them punished on the spot. He then ordered the call to arms to be sounded, and incited the furious soldiery to attack and plunder the houses of the Six Hundred, and to slaughter the inmates.

The soldiers soon got quite out of hand and made no difference between those who were to be killed and those to be saved, but cut down all whom they met in

their quest of booty, not only in private houses, or in the streets; even the temples were not respected. Four thousand persons of the families of the richest citizens were ruthlessly butchered, and as, by order of Agathocles, the city gates had been shut, others could escape only by a dangerous leap from the walls. About six thousand Syracusans fled to Agrigentum, a rival city, where they were, nevertheless, well received; yet some members of the oligarchy were delivered up to Agathocles, who put several of them to death, and exiled others; a former friend of his, Deinocrates, was the only one whom he pardoned.

Agathocles then called an Assembly, composed of his fellow-murderers, and of those who were too much terrified to offer any opposition. He declared that he had no intention of establishing a tyranny, but having fulfilled his mission, and purged the city of the six hundred despots, he only wished to live quietly as a free citizen of Syracuse. His partisans, of course, loudly protested, crying out that he must not desert them, but must at once assume the government. For a time he remained silent, as if reluctant, but as remonstrances and prayers grew louder and louder he consented to accept the command of the army, but only as sole general. In this he followed the example of Dionysius the Elder. Without a moment's hesitation they appointed him "Strategos autocrator," but nominally subject to be deposed by an Assembly of the people.

As he still thought it advisable to court the favour of the people, he took measures to relieve them of their debts to the wealthy, and disbursed large gifts of food and money amongst them. Having thoroughly cleared the ground of his opponents, he could safely play the part of a beneficent ruler and friend of the poor. He was not naturally suspicious, and did not think it necessary, like Dionysius, to surround himself with bodyguards and spies, and he was, for a time, really popular with the common people.

He now turned his attention to military preparations. He knew that, in the present state of Sicily, war being then carried on by mercenary troops, money was above all things needful for success. He filled his treasury by confiscating the property of the Six Hundred, reformed the army, collected arms and munitions of war and built new ships. When all was ready he gradually subdued, one after another, the neighbouring towns, and took possession of their lands. Under his vigorous impulse commerce and manufactures once more flourished in Sicily, and Syracuse was able to send money to Greece to support Cassander's plan for the rebuilding of Thebes. Agathocles then proceeded to attack Messene, recognising its eminently important position on the Straits. He had taken a Messenian fort and had promised to give it back for thirty talents, but when these were paid, he kept both the money and the fort. One part of the city walls of Messene was weak, but the Messenians were on their guard and repulsed his attack on that quarter. He returned to Syracuse, but soon renewed his attempt on Messene, and was again unsuccessful; for it was vigorously defended by the Syracusans whom he had driven into exile. And now Carthage intervened, reminding Agathocles of the contract, securing to Messene complete independence. He was thereupon compelled to let Messene alone, and even to surrender the fort, but he captured Abacaimon and put to death forty of his foes whom he found in that place.

His growing power alarmed Akragas (Agrigentum), Gela, and Messene, and the Syracusan exiles in those places brought about a league of all the threatened towns. They undertook to select a suitable commander for the allied forces, and proposed Acrotatus, son of the Spartan king, Cleomenes, for the post. Acrotatus, being then persecuted and in danger of his life at home, eagerly accepted the offer, and sailed at once for Sicily, with only a few ships, and without asking permission

of the Ephori at Sparta. He had intended to go by Corcyra as the shortest way to Akragas (Agrigentum), but was driven to the north by a violent storm, and landed at Apollonia, for which he negotiated a peace with Glaucias, king of Illyria. Thence he proceeded to Tarentum, which was at the time in a state of the greatest prosperity, wealthy and powerful. Its democratic rulers were anxious to play a leading part in Sicilian politics, and at once voted to send twenty ships to join the forces of Acrotatus. But he, without waiting for this reinforcement, went on his way to Akragas (Agrigentum), where he was heartily welcomed. But nothing could be more unfortunate than the choice of Acrotatus as chief of the league. He was full of words and promises, but did nothing. Like so many Lacedæmonians of that day, he had adopted the soft self-indulgent habits of the East, and was far more of a Persian than a Spartan. He was strongly attracted by the luxury of the Sicilians, and used the large sums of money given him by the allied cities for the indulgence of his own sensual appetites. He played the despot, got rid of distinguished men who, as he knew, were aware of his incompetence, and caused the head of the Syracusan exiles, Sosistratus, who stood in his way, to be murdered. Acrotatus was deposed from his command and would have been stoned, but he escaped under cover of night. This led to the dissolution of the league; the Tarentines withdrew their force, as it was no longer to be commanded by the son of the Spartan king, and the other cities, feeling themselves too weak to prosecute the war, made peace with Agathocles, through the mediation of Hamilcar, his Carthaginian friend. The terms of the agreement were that the cities of Sicily, except Selinus, Heracleia, and Himera, which were acknowledged to be subject to Carthage, were to be independent, but were to recognize the hegemony of Syracuse.

The Carthaginians, however, were dissatisfied with

these terms; they deposed Hamilcar in 314 B.C., and sent another son of Giscon, also called by the same name, Hamilcar, to take the command in Sicily. Carthage foresaw the coming struggle with Agathocles, and began to prepare for it. Agathocles was not less aware of the conflict that awaited him, and took his measures with characteristic promptitude. He collected a force of forty thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse, all mercenaries, with which he captured some neighbouring towns.

The more powerful of the cities in the lately dissolved league were also discontented with the terms of the peace with Carthage. They had no mind to acknowledge the supremacy of Syracuse, and Messene became the centre of opposition. Agathocles was on the alert, and saw his way to bring about a good understanding with Messene. In the year 312 he sent Pasiphilus, with secret instructions, into the Messenian territory with fair words and friendly proposals which the Messenians, for some unrecorded reason, accepted, to the general surprise. They dismissed the Syracusan exiles, the bitter enemies of Agathocles, and received the tyrant himself, with a body of his troops. He treated them in a friendly manner, but diligently inquired about the hiding-places of his principal enemies, and, on his return, sent a force to Tauromenium, seized six hundred of its inhabitants, mostly Messenians, and put them all to death.

Agathocles had risen to power in a great measure by the aid of Carthage; but his friend Hamilcar had been deposed, and he had no intention of remaining at peace with the Carthaginians. No one but a Greek who was able to face those eternal enemies could retain solid and enduring power in Sicily. It was with set purpose, therefore, that he cleared the ground of his domestic foes in order that he might have a free hand in a contest with Carthage. Dionysius the Elder had risen to despotic power because he was thought to be the only champion of Hellenism who

could protect it against the recurring flood of African barbarism. The position of affairs was, however, considerably changed in the time of Agathocles. Greeks and Carthaginians had lived together in many cities, and their old antagonism was considerably abated. The Siceliots, indeed, had greatly degenerated, while the Punic dwellers in Sicily had been, to a certain extent, influenced by Greek culture. Dionysius I. had been on friendly terms with Carthaginian generals, and Hicetas, as we have seen, had openly allied himself with the barbarians. It was no longer shameful for a Greek to enter the service of Carthage, and, as we shall see, Greek mercenaries fought in the Carthaginian ranks against Agathocles himself. There was little or no Hellenic enthusiasm among the Syracusans. Agathocles, therefore, could not base his supremacy on an appeal to Greek national feeling, and had to rely upon brute force alone. There had been something princely about Dionysius; but Agathocles was a piratical adventurer, resembling the *condottieri* of a later age, to whom all means were lawful for gaining power and riches. Under Dionysius a degree of amalgamation of Greeks with Sicels had taken place, which was the less difficult as both nations were of the Aryan race. In the time of Agathocles, a similar tendency to union between the Greeks and the Semitic Carthaginians seemed to be threatening; but this process was not carried out to any great extent. Agathocles himself had no national predilections or prejudices. He was not a Syracusan; and in Therma, his birthplace, Greeks and Carthaginians lived peaceably together. He liked to rule in Syracuse, because it was the most powerful of Sicilian cities; but he endeavoured, as we shall see, to create for himself a kingdom in Africa. There was another difference of position between the former tyrant and the present one; Dionysius had depended entirely on his mercenaries and his fortifications, and all those who loved freedom in Syracuse were his bitter enemies. Aga-

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thocles could enrol Syracusans in his army; for they had no longing to be free, and he had no reason to suspect intrigues against himself, for he had either killed or exiled all his opponents.

When he had taken possession of Messene, he meditated an attack on Akragas (Agrigentum). But, having set forth with his army, when he arrived within a short distance of that city he found the Carthaginians there with sixty ships, and he could only ravage the territory and capture a few fortresses by force or fraud. The fugitive Syracusan oligarchs had still considerable forces; at their head was Deinocrates, whose life Agathocles had spared from one of his baths of blood. Deinocrates tried to capture Centoripa, which was held by a garrison for Agathocles, but contained many friends of the oligarchs; he sent a force under Lymphodorus, who entered the town by night, but was defeated by the garrison and himself killed in the action. The leaders of the revolting party in Centoripa were brought before Agathocles, who sentenced them all to death. Against Galaria, a town whose inhabitants had likewise sought the aid of Deinocrates against the garrison placed there by Agathocles, the oligarchs at first succeeded better; Deinocrates came there with five thousand men, two thousand of whom were cavalry, occupied the town, and encamped outside of it, in expectation of an attack by the forces of Agathocles. The latter sent a part of his army, commanded by Pasiphilus, who had previously done him good service, and with him Demophilus, to contend against the forces of Deinocrates and Philonides, and those of the exiles belonging to the oligarchical party. In the battle which ensued the issue seemed at first doubtful, but was decided by the fall of Philonides in favour of Agathocles; Galaria was thus recaptured, and there was no longer any foe to the tyrant who could stand up against him—except Carthage, the eternal enemy!

The Carthaginians, who had been tolerably well disposed towards Agathocles, were now becoming more and more hostile. They were quite aware that he had plotted with Hamilcar for the overthrow of the Syracusan constitution. Hamilcar, the first of that name, had died at Carthage during his trial for treason; and the policy of Carthage was now entirely changed. They did not wish that the hegemony of Syracuse should become an absolute tyranny over all Greek Sicily; they saw that this would make Agathocles too mighty; they were displeased by his capture of Messene, and they had actually hindered him from attacking Akragas (Agrigentum). While Deinocrates was failing in his attempt at Centoripa, fifty Carthaginian ships entered the harbour of Syracuse, but seem to have done nothing of importance. They captured two merchant ships, and cut off the hands of the crews; Agathocles, never slack in cruelty, retaliated by mutilating the sailors of a Carthaginian ship taken off the Bruttian coast.

In the year 311 B.C. (Olympiad 117-2) Carthage began to prepare for another struggle with the Greeks for supremacy in Sicily. The Carthaginian fleet had the upper hand at sea, capturing twenty Syracusan vessels and their crews in the Straits of Messene. In the next year active hostilities commenced. Hamilcar was encamped upon a hill called Ecnomus (*hodie*, Monte Cufino) in the territory of Gela, near the river Himera. Agathocles marched to Ecnomus and offered battle, which the Carthaginians declined, and he returned to Syracuse.

But Carthage had since then sent over to Sicily a large additional force; ten thousand African soldiers, two thousand Carthaginian citizens, two hundred war-chariots, eleven thousand Tyrrhenian mercenaries, and a thousand Balearic slingers, were embarked in the fleet, which included a hundred and thirty triremes and many ships of burden carrying provisions and stores of every kind. This fleet in its passage to



Sicily was overtaken by a furious storm, in which many vessels were lost and a great number of men perished, amongst whom were many distinguished citizens of Carthage, for whom, as usual in that city, a public mourning was held, and the walls hung with black cloth. Though a large part of the armament on board the ships was thus lost, Hamilcar collected the survivors, and troops from his Sicilian allies; which raised the army under his command to forty thousand foot-soldiers and five thousand horse.

Mount Ecnomus was still the centre of the Carthaginian position. Agathocles therefore thought it advisable to secure Gela, in order to keep the war as far as possible away from Syracuse. He did not dare to attack Gela openly, lest the citizens should throw themselves into the arms of the enemy; but he contrived to send in soldiers in small companies, under various pretexts, and then entered the town himself. He accused the Geloans of treachery and incited his soldiers to fall upon them and indulge in a carnival of bloodshed. More than a thousand citizens were butchered and their property seized. He then ordered the survivors to give up all the gold and silver in the town, a demand which the helpless victims could not but obey. He then withdrew, leaving a strong garrison.

The Carthaginians being still at Ecnomus, he took up a position protected by the castle of Phalarion, opposite to Ecnomus, and standing on the hill now called Monte Galladoro, to the east of the river Himera. An old oracle had foretold that in this place many men would one day fall. The two armies lay for some time, face to face, without moving; at last they were compelled by want of provisions to leave their camps, though they had mutually plundered one another. Agathocles wished to draw out the Carthaginians, and seized some oxen close to their camp, expecting that they would pursue the marauders. With this hope he had placed an ambush of picked

men close by. All happened according to his anticipation. The Carthaginians came out and chased the plunderers, and the men in ambush cut down many of them and chased the rest to their encampment. Then Agathocles began the general engagement. He advanced, by crossing the river, and tried hard to rush the enemy's position. The Greeks seemed to be gaining ground, but Hamilcar, seeing the distress of his men, called up his slingers, who threw stones of a pound weight, much disturbing the Grecian ranks. Then Agathocles tried an attack upon another side, and was in a fair way to gain the victory, but fresh troops from Africa, just landed, came to join Hamilcar's army in the very nick of time; with this reinforcement from the seaside he attacked the Greeks and completely routed them; his cavalry pursued them for a distance of forty stadia, and they are said to have lost seven thousand men, while the Carthaginians lost only about five hundred. Agathocles set fire to his camp and retreated to Gela, which was well fortified. He remained there as long as possible, in order to detain the Carthaginians from approaching Syracuse. But Hamilcar, seeing that the siege of Gela would occupy too much time, turned his attention to the other cities of Sicily. He treated the first towns which he took so well, that the others, Camarina, Leontini, Catana, and Tauromenium, vied with one another in opening their gates to him. These were followed by Messene, Abacaimon, and others; for so universal was the fear and hatred of Agathocles that they were willing to join any enemy of his, whether Greek or barbarian. Agathocles returned to Syracuse, apparently a beaten man.

He then conceived a plan of extraordinary daring, which would seem that of a reckless adventurer, ready to risk all on the cast of a die. He determined to leave a strong and faithful garrison to defend Syracuse, while he, with his whole army, crossed the sea to Africa, and carried the war into the enemy's

country. In a badly beaten man, whose capital was about to be besieged, this act was generally considered that of a madman. While Sicily had been drained of her resources by war or tyrants, the Carthaginian empire had acquired vast wealth, drawn from its subject towns and provinces. But the best troops of Carthage were now in Sicily, and the country population around Carthage were little fitted to defend themselves against such an enterprising invader as Agathocles. Moreover, they submitted very unwillingly to the harsh rule and arbitrary exactions of the tyrant city, Carthage, and were always ready to revolt. Only the larger towns were fortified, and the rich open country was practically undefended from invasion.

Agathocles was a true adventurer and freebooter, strongly resembling Demetrius Poliorcetes, who also indulged in many a mad action. In his preparations for invading Carthage he decided not to take horses, but only saddles and bridles, thinking that he would find plenty of excellent horses in Africa. Besides his mercenaries, he prudently took as many Syracusans as possible, one from each family, so that, fathers being separated from sons, and brothers from brothers, he might have hostages from a large number of the citizens. He also enrolled a large number of emancipated slaves, from whom he need not fear resistance to his will. He procured money by a cruel artifice. He saw that many of the richer Syracusans looked forward with dread to the hardships of the expected siege and wished to save their wealth. He therefore proclaimed that all who wished might leave the city, taking with them their goods and portable property. This permission, of course, was chiefly taken advantage of by those who hated the tyrant, and many of them immediately departed. But no sooner had they got well on their way than Agathocles ordered his mercenaries to fall upon them and slay them, and to bring back their property, which he

confiscated. He also plundered the temples of their gold and silver vessels, and compelled the women to give up their ornaments, and the guardians of minors to hand over their trust money. He appointed his brother Antander as governor of Syracuse, and with the evil-gotten money equipped a fleet of sixty ships, manned with the flower of his army.

But now the difficulty was to get out of the harbour, which was closely blockaded by the enemy's superior fleet. Even this did not daunt Agathocles; he watched for an opportunity, and it came at last. The Carthaginians sighted a number of transports bearing supplies for Syracuse, and the whole Carthaginian fleet sailed out in pursuit. Agathocles ran out with all his ships, and the enemy, thinking he meant to fight, gave up the pursuit of the transports. When they saw that he was steering to the south, they went in pursuit of him; but he had a good start, and, fortunately for him, night came on. On the following day—August 15, 310 B.C.—the Carthaginian fleet hove in sight. And now occurred a terrible portent, an eclipse of the sun, which checked the pursuit; and during four days and four nights Agathocles sailed without being disturbed by the enemy. Then a desperate rowing-match took place, in which the Carthaginians gained ground. As they were now near the Libyan coast, the Greeks took heart, turned upon their pursuers, and drove them off. They had leisure then to land at a place southwest of the promontory of Mercury (Cape Bon), to draw up their ships on to the strand, throw up a wall, and dig a trench around them. On account of the immense stone-quarries near the place, the Greeks called it *Latomiæ*, as those in the vicinity of Syracuse.

The next acts of Agathocles were highly characteristic of this strange, mysterious man. He determined to burn his ships in the presence of his bewildered soldiers, that they might see no hope of safety but in victory. He therefore called an assembly,

and appeared before it in festive robes, crowned with a garland of victory. He told them that in the crisis of the pursuit, when the Carthaginians were close upon them, and when their destruction seemed inevitable, he had made a solemn vow to devote the whole fleet as an offering to the two great Goddesses, Demeter (Ceres) and Cora (Proserpine). This vow, he said, had been accepted; they had saved him from the enemy, and would surely grant him victory and glory. A servant then brought him a torch, and he ordered every trierarch to take a similar brand, to stand on the poop of his ship, and, at the sound of the trumpet, to set it on fire, as they saw him do to the admiral's trireme. This was done; and for the moment the soldiers seemed satisfied with the religious aspect of the deed; but they soon fell back into despondency.

Agathocles left them no time to brood over their desolate situation, but hurried them on to conquest. Their way into the interior lay through richly cultivated fields, vineyards, olive-groves, and green pastures, against which the white villas and the fair gardens showed themselves in all their beauty. The spirits of the Syracusans rose at the sight of all these tokens of Carthaginian wealth, practically undefended, and promising much booty. Megalopolis, the nearest town, was quickly captured; for it was the policy of Carthage not to allow her subject towns to be fortified, and she had had no fear of a foreign invasion. Having plundered that town, in which the soldiers would gladly have taken up their permanent abode, Agathocles marched on to Tunes (the modern Tunis), fourteen miles from Carthage, and there encamped.

The Carthaginians had been pleased when they heard of the destruction of his fleet by fire. But their satisfaction was changed into consternation as the Greek army advanced into the country conquering and plundering; and, as they knew that Syracuse had been closely blockaded by their own fleet, it now

seemed to them that Agathocles must have destroyed it before he could have embarked his army and sailed to Africa. They could not guess that he had stolen out of the Great Harbour and had been pursued by their fleet. An assembly was convened at Carthage, whose first act was to censure their admirals at Syracuse for negligence; and the second was to appoint Hanno and Bomilcar as generals for defence against the invader.

Of these two, who belonged to different and mutually hostile families, Bomilcar was a nephew of the first Hamilcar, the former friend of Agathocles in Sicily, and was, like him, a traitor to his country. The Carthaginians did not wait for the arrival of troops from the provinces, but resolved to attack Agathocles with a force raised in Carthage itself. Their army of forty thousand foot, a thousand cavalry, and two hundred war-chariots, was drawn up in battle array on a hill near the position of the Greeks. Hanno commanded the right wing, which included the "Sacred Band" of select Carthaginian citizens. Bomilcar stood on the left, his division being drawn up in deeper formation, because the nature of the ground did not allow of its being expanded. The cavalry and war-chariots were drawn up in front of the large mass of infantry.

The army of Agathocles was much inferior in numbers; three thousand five hundred Syracusans, three thousand other Hellenes, three thousand Samnite, Tyrrhenian, and Celtic mercenaries, three thousand of unrecorded nationality, and five hundred archers and slingers. He entrusted the command of the right wing to his son Archagathus; and he himself stood on the left, with a chosen company of hoplites, opposite the "Sacred Band" of the enemy. Many of Agathocles' men, especially the sailors, were not completely armed, having no shields. He therefore stretched the covers of the hoplites' shields over wooden frames, which gave them the appearance of

real shields. To raise the drooping spirits of his men, he procured a number of owls, which settled on the ensigns and sometimes on the helmets of the soldiers, and assured them that they were under the protection of Athene (Minerva).

The Greeks received the onset of the Punic cavalry and chariots with great steadiness, and drove them back upon the main body of the enemy. Then Hanno attacked with the infantry; but though he fought with the utmost gallantry, his men were routed and he himself was killed. Bomilcar turned the repulse into a complete defeat by ordering his division to return to the hill from which they had descended. The Greeks pursued, and the Carthaginians dispersed in wild confusion. Even the "Sacred Band" made no long resistance, and was soon broken and in full flight towards Carthage. The camp, full of treasure, was captured, and in it were found twenty thousand pairs of handcuffs, intended for the Greeks. Agathocles lost but two hundred men; the Carthaginians, a thousand or six thousand, as stated by different historical authorities.

It was a terrible experience for the Carthaginians to be thus beaten by a smaller force before the walls of their own city, on their own ground; and they saw, in this disaster, the wrath of offended Gods. They thought first of the Tyrian Hercules, to whom they were bound, by Phœnician custom, to send a tithe of their State revenues. Alexander the Great had captured Tyre, but had not destroyed it; and they hastened to send thither the customary annual tribute.

They feared also that they had neglected the service due to Cronos (Saturn), to whom they were bound to sacrifice the children of their noblest families. The infant victims were placed in the arms of the God, who rolled them into a fire beneath the statue. The most precious and acceptable offerings were the only sons of rich parents; but it was often found, by inquiry, that these parents had bought the children of

poor and obscure families, and substituted these for their own; and that, in this way, the God had been defrauded of his due. Those evasions had been winked at in time of peace, but were now seen to be an impious offence against the God, which called for the most ample atonement. Two hundred children of the best families were now sacrificed; and three hundred more, who had been fraudulently preserved, were voluntarily offered by their conscience-stricken parents. Having appeased the Gods by these holocausts, they looked about for earthly aid.

They sent messengers to Hamilcar in Sicily, ordering him to despatch a part of his troops to Africa. These messengers were enjoined to conceal the defeat of the Carthaginians, and to announce that Agathocles and his army had been totally destroyed, in proof of which they showed the beaks of the burnt vessels, which they took with them as a trophy. The false report was believed in Syracuse; and the city was thrown into a state of the deepest mourning and the most violent agitation. The generals in charge, Antander and the Ætolian, Erymnon, fearing uproar and revolt, ordered all the discontented and suspected people to leave Syracuse. Many were driven out, expecting death at the hands of Hamilcar, who, however, contrary to expectation, did them no harm. Antander was inclined to capitulate, on condition of sparing the family of the tyrant. But Erymnon violently opposed him, and carried his proposal to wait for further intelligence. Not long afterwards Nearchus was sent by Agathocles, with two triacontars, to announce his glorious victory at Carthage. He reached Syracuse by night, and waited for daybreak to run into the harbour. His ships came in, with the crews decorated as victors and singing songs of triumph. They narrowly escaped the Carthaginian guardships, which followed them in hot pursuit; and the trial of speed was eagerly watched on both sides. The Greeks just succeeded in getting

within the range of the Syracusan archers, and were saved.

Hamilcar then assaulted a part of the city walls, which the garrison had left unguarded; his men had begun to mount the scaling ladders when the patrol arrived, and they were driven off. After this he relaxed the pressure of the siege, and sent off five thousand of his men to Africa.

Meantime, in Africa, Agathocles was making rapid progress, capturing many towns and ravaging the lands in the neighbourhood of Carthage. He formed a strong fortified camp at Tunes, and leaving there a portion of his army conquering and plundering. He assaulted and took Neapolis, and besieged Hadrumentum, both of which he treated leniently; and he secured an ally in Elymas, king of a Libyan tribe. But the Carthaginians, in his absence, came to attack Tunes, whereupon Agathocles returned from his raid in the interior, bivouacked on high ground between Tunes and Hadrumentum, where his position could be seen from both towns. He kindled enormous bonfires; and the enemy, thinking he had got large reinforcements, retired to Carthage, leaving their machines behind them. Another town, Hadrumentum, then surrendered to him, and he took Thapsus by storm. In all, he had captured some two hundred places in the vicinity of Carthage, and though many of these were recaptured by the Carthaginians during his absence, a part of their forces had been detained before Tunes. He soon returned, and, concealing his approach under cover of night, attacked them at early dawn, slew two hundred, and took many prisoners. But soon Elymas, the Libyan king, deserted Agathocles, and ventured to fight a battle with him, in which Elymas was defeated and killed.

The following year, 309 B.C., brought fresh disasters to the Carthaginians in Sicily also. Hamilcar, emboldened by the superiority of his forces, resolved to storm Syracuse, relying much on the Syracusan exiles

in his service, who were well acquainted with the defences of the city. He made the Temple of Olympian Zeus, near the Great Harbour, the centre of his operations. He was greatly encouraged by the predictions of his soothsayers, who told him that "on the next day he would sup in Syracuse." The Syracusan generals heard of this; and during the night occupied Euryelus, at the extreme western point, on Epipolæ, of the fortified angle defended by them, with three thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horse. This point, being at the greatest distance from Ortygia, was less strongly guarded and invited attack. Towards the end of the night the Carthaginians, headed by Hamilcar and Deinocrates, the latter being chief of the Syracusan exiles and leading the rear-guard of cavalry, marched up the hill. Their force was divided, one part consisting of Greeks, the other of barbarians. Hamilcar foolishly allowed the camp-followers to accompany the army; and they so seriously hampered the formation and action of his troops that, when the garrison of Euryelus poured down upon them from above, these were routed without much difficulty. The main attack had been made in front; but a detachment of the garrison had been sent to the rear of Euryelus, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives. Many of the assailants fell from the rocks, and in the darkness were slain by their own friends. A great number fell; and Hamilcar himself was taken prisoner, and *did* sup that night in Syracuse, if he supped at all! For when he was brought into the city, the relations of the fallen Greeks maltreated and slew him, and his head was sent to Agathocles in Africa.

But Syracuse was still closely beleaguered, and began to suffer want. The weakness of this once predominant city led other Sicilian cities to declare their independence. Akragas (Agrigentum), especially, advocated the formation of a league of all free towns for the purpose of establishing freedom and good order

throughout the island. The circumstances seemed very favourable to such a project. Syracuse was no longer to be feared; the old enemy, Carthage, had her hands full, both at Syracuse and in her own dominions; Agathocles might never return from his bold adventure. Moreover, the Sicels had, for the most part, ceased to regard themselves as a nationality, distinct from the Hellenes; there was no longer the old racial hostility. So many different peoples had settled in Sicily, the population in the towns was so mixed by the arbitrary transplanting of whole communities, that Greek and Sicel, and even some Semites, mutually absorbed each other, forming an amalgam with the common name of "Siceliots"; but the Greek language and Greek culture still prevailed. All these circumstances, as we have observed, seemed to favour the project of Akragas (Agrigentum), and to promise its success. Xenodocus, the Agrigentine general, being commissioned by his city to gain allies, went to Gela and Henna, which promised their co-operation. At Herbessus, the proposed union was so popular that, in spite of the garrison, Iamides, the general, was able to enter the town and restore its independence. The mercenaries of Agathocles had succeeded in getting out of Syracuse, notwithstanding the blockade, and occupied Echetla, from which they ravaged the territories of Camarina and Leontini. Xenodocus came to the assistance of the inhabitants of these places, defeated the raiders, and put a stop to their depredations; thus Camarina and Leontini were gained for the league.

Syracuse, meantime, was hard pressed and in want of supplies. The garrison sent out thirty ships, to act as a convoy to an expected flotilla of transports, with orders to land near the temple of Hera (Juno). These were pursued by the Carthaginians, and attacked by them near Megara; half the flotilla were captured; ten were rescued by the ships from Syracuse.

In Africa, however, the good fortune of Agathocles

seemed to be continued, and to be now at its height; but it rested upon no solid foundation, and soon declined. Having received from Sicily the head of Hamilcar, he rode with it to the Carthaginian camp and held it up before the enemy, telling them how their friends had been beaten at Syracuse. The Carthaginians, who revered their kings, threw themselves on the ground and gave way to immoderate grief. But Agathocles had trouble in his own camp, which seriously impeded his action. Lyciscus, one of his generals, probably in a drunken fit, ridiculed the tyrant at a banquet. As he was a useful soldier, Agathocles treated the matter as a joke; but Archagathus, his son, roundly abused Lyciscus for his insolence. After the banquet, the infuriated Lyciscus accused Archagathus of an intrigue with his step-mother, Accia; upon which Archagathus snatched a sword from a soldier and ran Lyciscus through the body. On the following day, the friends and comrades of the murdered man went through the camp, calling on the soldiery to avenge his death. The uproar soon became general and very threatening. The soldiers, whose pay was in arrear, cried out that Archagathus must be put to death as an atonement; or, if not he, then Agathocles himself. New generals were chosen; the soldiers manned the walls of Tunes; and Agathocles was besieged by his own mercenaries. The news of this mutiny soon reached the Carthaginians, who sent messages to the soldiers of the hostile army, inviting them to desert and offering them higher pay, which some of the officers and troops accepted and marched away. Then Agathocles called an assembly, before which, laying aside his purple robe, he appeared in the uniform of a common soldier. He reminded them of what great things they had done together, what deeds of valour they had performed, what rich plunder they had taken; but now, since they had turned against him and desired his death, he refused not to die. He then drew his sword, as if to kill

himself; but they, smitten by remorse, cried out that he must live; that they could not do without him, and that he must immediately resume his royal robes. He thanked them, with many tears, and immediately led them against the enemy. The Carthaginians, to whom two hundred of his men had deserted, fully expected that his whole army had revolted against him, and were about to go over to them. Great therefore was their dismay when Agathocles' trumpeters sounded the charge, and he fell upon them before they had time to recover from their surprise and confusion, and to restore order in their ranks; they were completely routed, with heavy loss.

In the next year, 308 B.C. (Olympiad 118-1), the war was carried on further in the interior, where the Carthaginians were endeavouring to subdue the insurgent Numidians. Agathocles, leaving Archagathus in Tunes, marched thither with eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse and fifty Libyan war-chariots, pursuing the Carthaginians. The enemy, with their best troops, occupied a strong position on a hill, and sent out their allied Numidian cavalry to harass the Greeks. On the march Agathocles met them with his own Numidian light troops, and attacked their camp by the river which flowed past the hill. The Carthaginians were greatly superior in numbers and were supported by Greeks under Cleinon, but the personal valour of Agathocles carried everything before him; and they, being entirely beaten, retreated to their entrenched camp. The Numidians on either side cared only for pay and plunder, and watched the conflict, with the intention of joining the side of the conquerors. A large body of them went into Agathocles' camp, which lay at some distance, and plundered it during his absence. He returned, however, in time to save a part of it, distributed among his soldiers the booty that he had taken in the battle, and confined a number of his prisoners—Greeks who had fought along with the Carthaginians against him—in the

stronghold of his camp. During the night a thousand of these prisoners, half of them Syracusans, escaped from confinement, and, taking post on a neighbouring hill, began to treat with him about terms of surrender. Agathocles replied, assuring them of protection and safety. But when they came out from the place where they had taken refuge, he slew them all to a man. He was now, for the moment, safe from the Carthaginians in the field, but was anxious for the future, and looked about him for an ally.

Agathocles found one, before long, in Ophellas, the governor of Cyrene under the Macedonian king of Egypt. This man, who had served with distinction under Alexander the Great and was made governor of Cyrene by the king of Egypt, desired to extend his dominion to the west. Agathocles, knowing his ambitious views, sent an offer of alliance and assistance, saying that he had, for himself, no intention of making permanent conquests in Africa, but only sought to curb the power of Carthage and prevent her from interfering in the affairs of Sicily. Ophellas gladly consented, and raised a powerful army, with which to join the forces of the Sicilian tyrant. He had considerable influence in Greece itself, having married Euthydice, one of an ancient Athenian family claiming descent from Miltiades. Many persons from Greece followed him in this expedition, hoping to escape the confusion and unrest which prevailed in Greek affairs, and to gain rich settlements in Africa.


Ophellas started from Cyrene with ten thousand chosen infantry, six hundred cavalry, and a hundred chariots bearing the officers of his army, while light-armed soldiers, called *parabatai*, ran beside the chariots. Ten thousand non-combatants, many of them with wives and children, looking like emigrants, followed the troops. In eight days they reached Automolæ, a border town to the west. Here their troubles began; there was a deficiency of water, and the minds of the superstitious crowd were overcome by imaginary

terrors as well as by real discomforts. It was here that the child-murderess Lamia, a Libyan queen, had had her dwelling, and when Hera (Juno) stole her child, Lamia, in revenge, murdered all the children she could lay hands on; she was beloved of Jupiter (Zeus), who gave her the power of taking out her own eyes and putting them in again; she enticed young men to her cave, slew them, and picked their bones. This forbidding tract of country was infested by deadly snakes of the colour of sand; it was again, long afterwards, traversed by the Roman partisans of Pompey in their retreat from Egypt to Utica. The store of provisions in the camp of Ophellas was quite insufficient for the great multitude who followed him, and many died of starvation in the desert. Two months passed before they reached the camp of Agathocles, who received them at Tunes with apparent friendliness. But after passing some days with Ophellas he called an assembly of his own men, told them that Ophellas was plotting against his life, and called them to arms. The enraged soldiers instantly rushed into the camp of the Cyrenians, and slew Ophellas, with those about him, who, of course, having expected no attack, were easily overcome. Agathocles then offered to take the Cyrenian troops into his own service, to which they, having no alternative, reluctantly consented. He packed off the women and children by sea, in transport vessels, to Syracuse, but as he probably expected, most of them were shipwrecked and drowned in a violent storm; a few were driven to the Pithecusæ islands off the coast of Ischia.

In Carthage, meanwhile, the revolt prepared by the traitor Bomilcar, which had been several times postponed, at last broke out, when the absence of his chief opponents, who had been sent against the Numidians, seemed to offer a favourable opportunity. Bomilcar reviewed his insurgent force of five hundred citizens and four thousand mercenaries, to whom he presented

himself as sole and absolute ruler of Carthage. He then sent his followers, in five detachments, through the city, calling on the inhabitants to join him. But the higher class of citizens, who loved their city and its political constitution, resisted with the greatest valour and devotion, and many of them were butchered by order of Bomilcar. When the true state of affairs became generally known the young men of the better class took up arms, vigorously attacked the rebels, and drove them to the market-place, where showers of missiles were thrown upon them from the windows and roofs of the lofty houses. The conspirators withdrew to a strong position in the "New Town," from which they offered to surrender on terms. As it was reported that the Greeks were already at the city gates, easy conditions were imposed; they were all assured of their lives except Bomilcar, who was first tortured and then put to death.

The fate of Bomilcar dashed all Agathocles' hopes of final and lasting success. Yet his position seemed, on the surface, to be still a favourable one. He had carved out a kingdom for himself in Africa, or was, at any rate, the absolute ruler over many towns and a wide territory. Carthage, however, had meantime only to wait; she had no reason to fear an army without a fleet, while she could get all she wanted for herself by sea. Agathocles had taken possession of the town of Aspis, and might have made it the capital of his kingdom, but he was too restless and excitable to take measures which only long time could render profitable, and much preferred ranging over the country, storming towns all around, and, as far as possible, isolating Carthage. Having completed his work in the east and south in 307 B.C., he turned his attention to the north and west, where his first object was the conquest of Utica. By a rapid march thither he surprised three hundred of the citizens outside the walls, and demanded the surrender of the town as the price of their deliverance. This being refused, he built



a great siege-tower, on which he bound the captives in such a manner that they would be struck by the missiles of their friends. But the people of Utica would not sacrifice a whole population to save the lives of a few, and they prepared for defence. Agathocles found a weak place in the walls, entered the town with his troops, and gave up its inhabitants to merciless and indiscriminate slaughter, not sparing even those who sought the protection of the Gods in their temples. After plundering Utica he stormed Hippo Acra, a strong fortress by the sea.

He had now subdued the greater number of the subject towns of Carthage; in doing which he was aided by the hatred of the Liby-Phœnicians towards that tyrannical city. The Numidians were not so hostile to Carthage, though they, too, had often revolted against her. Agathocles had not yet conquered the ruling people of Phœnician Carthage; but he was too wise to think that this could be done. He thought, however, that he might retain, by his son Archagathus, his present hold on Africa, and determined himself to go back to Syracuse, where still more urgent problems awaited his attention.

He built a number of light ships and fifty-oared galleys; and with two thousand of his men sailed home. In Sicily, the Agrigentines were bitterly opposed to him; and the Carthaginians still blockaded the city on the sea-side. His generals, Leptines and Demophilus, with eight thousand two hundred foot, and twelve hundred horse, had defeated Xenodochus, with ten thousand foot and a thousand cavalry, and had driven him back to Akragas (Agrigentum) with a loss of fifteen hundred men. Agathocles arrived shortly after this victory, of which he was able to enjoy the fruits. He lost no time in pursuing his advantage, landed near Selinus, took Heracleia, which had deserted him, and then marched to the north coast. There he was obliged to leave Therma in the hands of the Carthaginians; but captured Cephaloidion, and left Leptines in it as

governor. Thence he moved to Centoripa, into which he was admitted by traitors; but was soon driven out again by a supreme effort of the citizens, with a loss of five hundred of his men. At Apollonia, after a hard fight, he was more successful; the inhabitants of that place were massacred, and their goods divided among his soldiers. After their late defeat, the Agrigentines could no longer take the lead in Sicily, which fell again to Syracuse.

Meantime, Archagathus had been losing ground in Africa. He had at first been fortunate, but had unwisely sent a part of his army, under Eumachus, into the interior. He was sufficiently fortunate in his first raid, taking five or six Libyan villages, and was again sent out on a similar foray, but was repulsed with heavy loss at Milline. Eumachus then marched into a country full of wild cats, and in which no birds were left alive; then into a region inhabited by apes, which were regarded by the natives as holy, and admitted into their houses. In short, he saw many of the strange sights of the Dark Continent, of which the present generation has heard so much from modern explorers. He captured two of the towns of the ape-adoring nation; but hearing that the neighbouring tribes were rising against him, returned again to Archagathus. The inhabitants of Carthage were, at this time, sorely hampered and oppressed by the multitude of Libyans who thronged into the city from the captured and devastated villages which they had been unable to defend from Agathocles' raiding expeditions. Therefore, Carthage, with the double object of harassing the Greeks and diminishing the number of mouths she had to feed, sent forth three armies, such as they were; one to the coast along the sea; a second by land, but near the coast; and a third into the interior. Archagathus, also, divided his force, but into four parts, leaving one division in garrison at Tunes; the other three were commanded respectively by Eumachus, Æschrion, and Archagathus himself. But Æschrion, who occupied

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the middle zone of territory, was lured into an ambush by Hanno, and four thousand foot and two hundred horse, of his division, were slain; the remainder fled five hundred stadia to Archagathus. An equally terrible disaster befell Eumachus, in the interior, where the Carthaginian Himilcon, by a feigned flight, drew the Greeks into a disorderly pursuit, then turned upon them and slew, according to the account, nearly eight thousand foot and nearly eighteen hundred horsemen(?). Almost all the African towns now joined with Carthage; and Tunes was blockaded by sea and land. Himilcon and his army were stationed about one hundred stadia, little over eight miles, from Tunes, and Adherbal still nearer, between Carthage and Tunes. Archagathus sent off hasty despatches to his father at Syracuse, urging him to send speedy help, or to return himself to Africa.

But Agathocles had new difficulties to contend with in Sicily. Deinocrates was at the head of twenty thousand troops, and Agathocles could not even meet him in the open field, but was obliged to remain at Syracuse, shut up in Ortygia. However, he prepared to send off seventeen ships of war, which alone would be unable to meet the Carthaginian fleet of thirty, but, just at the right moment, the Etrurians sent him a reinforcement of eighteen ships. The Carthaginians knew nothing of this, and when Agathocles, with his own fleet, pretended to flee before them, they hotly pursued. Then he turned upon them, while the Etrurians attacked them in the rear. The Greeks took five of the enemy's triremes, with their crews, including the admiral, who in despair committed suicide. It was now possible to re-victual Syracuse.

Agathocles, however, was anxious to gain a victory on land, to recover his lost prestige in Sicily, before returning to Africa. He directed his attention to Akragas (Agrigentum), where Xenodochus was struggling with a hostile party, and got but little support from the citizens. When Leptines, by

command of Agathocles, invaded the Agrigentine territory, Xenodochus did not wish to fight, but was constrained by the mockery of his fellow-citizens to do so. The seasoned and well-trained troops of the tyrant gained an easy victory over the unwarlike citizens, and drove them back into their city with a loss of five hundred foot and fifty horse.

After having now beaten the Agrigentines and the Carthaginians, both on land and sea, Agathocles still felt that his bitterest foes were in Syracuse. He therefore determined to clear the ground of them, that he might not leave an enemy at his back when he again sailed for Africa. He invited three hundred of the leading citizens to a banquet; and when they were assembled, sent in his mercenaries, and massacred them all. Now, at last, he thought he might safely go to Africa to relieve his son there from his difficulties. At this time he assumed the state and title of King, and directed that the coins of Syracuse should be named after him. Having crossed the sea to Africa, he resolved to begin with a striking victory. His force, indeed, was small; six thousand Greeks, eight thousand Celts, Samnites, and Tyrrhenians, ten thousand worthless Libyans; with a large number of chariots. The Carthaginian army was far more numerous, and held a strongly entrenched position, with plentiful supplies. They wished to decline battle, and to tire out the Greeks, who were in want of everything, but the restless and over-confident Agathocles soon grew tired of waiting, and to the joy of the Carthaginians led his men to the attack.

He was repulsed, after some hard fighting; and the Libyans in his army marched off, unmolested; for the Carthaginians thought it politic to spare them, and only to charge the Greeks and Italians. Agathocles suffered a total defeat, and three thousand of his men were slain. In the Carthaginian camp, the fairest of the prisoners were burnt as a sacrifice to the Gods. A violent storm arose, which drove the flames of the

altar to the sacred tent adjacent to the altar, and thence to the neighbouring tents of the general and other officers. In a short time, the whole camp, which was mainly built of canes and straw, was in a blaze; and many persons perished in the conflagration. The Carthaginians fled, in wild confusion, from the place. Other disasters befell them on this occasion. Five thousand of the Libyan deserters from Agathocles marched during the night to join the Carthaginians; but as they came near the camp, they were mistaken by the sentinels for enemies; and there was a general flight towards Carthage; but as they left the camp by different routes, in the darkness the different companies mistook each other for enemies, and fought, and a frightful carnage ensued, in which several thousand men were slain. The rest fled to Carthage; in the towns along the road, people thought the Greeks were pursuing, and joined in the flight. The Greeks, on their side, were in a similar evil case; for the intending Libyan deserters, when they saw the Carthaginian camp burning, turned and came back to the Greeks. They were taken for enemies; and a new conflict and carnage took place. The consequences of this sanguinary turmoil were, of course, chiefly disastrous to the Greeks.

Agathocles was now in a dilemma, in which he could not see his way, as he knew not where or how to procure ships for the transport of his troops from Africa. He could only, as he thought, himself flee with a few trusty men, and leave the bulk of the army behind. He only took with him his younger son, Heracleides, as he thought that the elder, Archagathus, was plotting against his life. He wished to depart secretly; but Archagathus, furious at this intended desertion, revealed the secret to the higher officers, who stopped the tyrant's flight, and made him a prisoner.

Complete anarchy now prevailed in the Grecian camp. It was reported, in the next night, that the

Carthaginians were coming to attack them. The Greeks turned out, but in no order; and when the guards brought out Agathocles in chains, the old feeling of loyalty was aroused in the soldiers: they insisted on his being released, and having knocked off his chains, with loud cheers besought him to lead them against the enemy. But he only thought of securing his own safety by flight, evaded their importunity, and having obtained a vessel, went on board privately and sailed for Sicily. When this was known, the infuriated soldiers, Agathocles being no longer within their reach, seized his two sons, Archagathus and Heracleides, and murdered them in cold blood: after which they chose new leaders, who negotiated with the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians thought it prudent to grant them easy terms; the Greeks were to give up all the towns and places which they had taken in Africa, and to receive for them the sum of three hundred talents; the common soldiers were to be allowed, if they wished, to enter the service of Carthage, with good pay; and others received dwellings in the Punic town of Solus in Sicily. There were some, among the Greek garrisons in Africa, who refused to accept these terms; but they were soon beaten, their leaders crucified, and the rest of them made serfs, or slaves, to work in chains.

Agathocles, on his return to Sicily, in 305 B.C., thought it expedient to begin with an example of terrorism. He went to Segesta, a friendly town, one of the most important in the north-western part of Sicily, and ordered some troops to follow him thither. He demanded of the citizens there the greater part of their property; as they naturally grumbled, he made a blood-bath of the city, alleging that they were plotting against his life. The richer inhabitants he tortured, until they revealed their hidden treasures; the aristocratic women had their ankles crushed by pincers, and their breasts cut off. He had a brazen figure of a man made (similar to the *bull* of Phalaris) open in

front, so that he might see the victims burning. The poorer inhabitants he sent, under guard, to the banks of the Scamander, to be there slaughtered. He sold the virgins and youths to the Bruttians. So dire was the terror he caused, that many of the Segestans set fire to their own houses, and perished in the flames. He then changed the name of the city to Dicæopolis, and gave it to deserters who joined his party.

A similar act of carnage was perpetrated in Syracuse by his brother Antander, who was ordered by Agathocles to murder all the relations, young and old, women and children, of the soldiers whom he had taken with him to Africa. This butchery took place on the sea-shore, and the sands and the ripples of the waves were red with blood.

But Agathocles had still much to do, when he had thus recovered and confirmed his power; the slightest suspicion of any hostility to him brought death. He went round Sicily and strengthened the garrisons of his subject towns, and collected money from them. His chief adversary at this time was Deinocrates, to whom Pasiphilus, one of the generals of Agathocles, had deserted, and had given up the towns entrusted to him by the tyrant. Agathocles now made a new and unexpected move, which caused a great sensation. He offered, on certain conditions, to abdicate his throne. He would, he said, recognise the independence and freedom of Syracuse; but would keep Therma and Cephaloidion on the north coast. Deinocrates was to disband his army, and to return to Syracuse as a private citizen. But Deinocrates, though he pretended to approve of these terms, was not at all inclined to resign his *quasi* royal power. Moreover, he had good reason to doubt the sincerity of the tyrant, who, as he knew, could be bound neither by promises nor oaths. Deinocrates was at the head of a well-equipped army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse; and he was by no means disposed to lead the dull life of a private citizen. He, on his part, demanded that

Agathocles should leave Sicily. Agathocles was now able to brand Deinocrates as the real obstacle to the establishment of liberty and peace in Syracuse; and his denunciation of the selfishness of such conduct had so great an effect on the Sicilians, that, in many towns, a reaction took place in favour of the tyrant; and he did *not* abdicate.

He now made a peace with Carthage, favourable to both sides; for the latter was greatly exhausted, and was glad to come to terms with such an active and harassing opponent. She received back her former possessions in Sicily west of the Halycus, but paid Agathocles a sum of money, either 300 or 500 talents. This peace with the old enemy of Syracuse enabled him to turn his attention to his Hellenic foes. It was high time, he thought, to settle matters with his only powerful opponent, Deinocrates. In the following year he collected an army of five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, greatly inferior in number to that of Deinocrates; but he relied upon a secret understanding with a body of men in the enemy's ranks, who had been admitted as fugitives, and who promised him to desert in the nick of time. Agathocles resolved, therefore, to risk this apparently unequal contest; which, after raging for a time with doubtful result, was decided in the tyrant's favour by the desertion of two thousand of the enemy's soldiers, who came over to him. Deinocrates and his army fled; the cavalry rode to the town of Ambice, and many of the infantry dispersed and escaped in the night; but some thousands of them occupied a neighbouring hill, and negotiated with Agathocles. He was very friendly to those whom they sent to treat with him, and promised a safe return home to all who would surrender. They, therefore, came down from the hill, laid down their arms, and were, then and there, massacred, to the number of two or three thousand; if not seven thousand, according to different statements. But he spared Deinocrates, because that false villain

murdered Pasphilus, his companion in arms, and gave up all the towns to Agathocles. After this, Deinocrates took service under the tyrant as a general.

At this point the history of Sicily becomes less interesting. The narrative of Diodorus, which we have followed thus far, breaks off; but we know enough of Agathocles already to feel sure that he continued the same life of enterprising piracy and remorseless bloodshed as before. He engaged in fresh wars with Carthage, and in expeditions against South Italy. In 303 B.C., Corcyra (Corfu) had fallen into his hands. Tarentum, hard pressed by the Lucanians, applied for aid to the Spartan Cleonymus, who endeavoured to win a kingdom for himself and seized Corcyra, which he plundered, and gave himself up to luxurious indulgence. Agathocles, though advanced in years, had lately married a step-daughter of Ptolemy, the new ruler of Egypt, who set him against Cassander; and we learn, from a fragment of Diodorus, that when the Macedonians were besieging Corcyra, Agathocles came upon them with a fleet and army. A great sea-fight ensued, and he defeated the dreaded Macedonians, and burnt their fleet; but he allowed their army to retire, after which he treated Corcyra as a conquest of his own. Agathocles was engaged at that time in a war with the Brutii, which he entrusted to his grandson, the younger Archagathus, to carry on during his absence at Corcyra. Two thousand of the troops, Ligurians and Tyrrhenians, left under Archagathus in Italy, mutinied on account of the arrears of their pay; whereupon Agathocles came back to that army, and caused all the mutineers to be massacred. This dispute encouraged the Brutii to attack him again; and when he was besieging one of their towns, Ethæ, they surprised him by night, and slew four thousand of his men; after which, it appears, Agathocles returned to Syracuse.

After this disaster he entered into friendly relations with Pyrrhus, a protégé of Ptolemy of Egypt, and

chief of the Molossians, who in 295 B.C., by murdering his kinsman, became sole ruler of Epirus. Agathocles gave his daughter Lanassa to Pyrrhus in marriage; and used the naval squadron which he sent as convoy for the bride, to surprise and capture Croton in passing, after having given assurances of friendship to Menedemus, the ruler of that important city. He plundered the temples, public buildings, and private houses of Croton, and massacred the inhabitants. With the piratical tribes and states of the Iapygians and Peucetians he formed a kind of partnership, not giving his name to the firm, but receiving his full share of the booty. Probably no money was more welcome to him than what he gained by piracy.

Somewhat later, he again made a raid into Italy with a fleet, and with an army of 30,000 foot and 3000 horse. The fleet, under Stilpon, devastated the coast of Bruttium, but was dispersed by a storm, and suffered heavy loss. Agathocles, with the army, captured Hipponium, where he built docks, which existed in the time of Strabo. The Bruttians sued for peace, which was granted on condition of their giving six hundred hostages; these he left with the army, and returned to Syracuse; but the force he left behind was no match for the infuriated Bruttians, who fell upon it, freed the hostages, and recovered their independence.

When Demetrius Poliorcetes became king of Macedonia, 294 B.C., Agathocles endeavoured to draw him into an alliance, and sent his favourite youngest son and namesake, Agathocles, to conclude a treaty with that monarch. Demetrius received the youth very courteously, clad him in royal robes, readily accepted the offer of alliance, and sent his confidant, Oxythemus, to settle terms at Syracuse; but secretly instructed him to find out the real state of things in Syracuse, with a view to the future. Agathocles was probably aware of his daughter's determination to leave Pyrrhus and to marry Demetrius; she complained that the

former neglected her for his two barbarian wives, an Illyrian and a Pæonian. She went to Corcyra, which she considered as her property, and sent to Pyrrhus, asking him to come to her there. He came, and on leaving the island left a garrison of his own troops.

Agathocles now became aware that Western Greece and Macedonia were more than a match for him, and that there was no room for extension of his power in that direction. And in Italy he began to feel the growing power of Rome. Africa once more tempted him to new adventures, new victories, and new plunder. When seventy-two years old, he began new preparations against Carthage, thinking that, if her supplies from Sardinia and Sicily could be cut off, the great city might be subdued without much difficulty. To do this, he must have a greatly superior fleet; and he had already collected two hundred well-equipped quadriremes and hexiremes, when death overtook him, before he could begin the war.

His grandson Archagathus, who was in command of the army at Ætna, considered himself lawful heir to the throne, as heir to his deceased father, the elder son, one of the two who had died in Africa. But Agathocles had favoured the pretensions of his younger son and namesake, a second Agathocles, and sent him to supersede Archagathus as head of the army. Archagathus, however, was by no means willing to take the second place; and it is said that, as he saw that he could do nothing to prevent it while his grandfather was alive, he compassed the death of the old man.

It is stated that, for this purpose, Archagathus chose as his instrument Mainon of Segesta, who stood high in the favour of the tyrant; at the fall of his native city he became the slave of Agathocles, who loved this youth for his beauty. But the latter still retained his former grudge against the destroyer of Segesta and his own enslaver. Archagathus trusted this man, and they joined in the execution of the plot.

When the younger Agathocles arrived at Ætna, to assume command of the army, his nephew Archagathus received him kindly, and told him that he was under a vow to bring a sacrifice to the Gods on one of the neighbouring Faraglioni islands. He went on this pretended business, taking his uncle with him, and then, having made him drunk at a banquet, threw him into the sea; but the drowned corpse came to land, and was brought to Syracuse. When the news of this reached the palace of the tyrant, *he* was at the point of death; for Mainon had given him poison on a tooth-pick, of such virulent potency that it caused his gums to rot away. The cruel old tyrant, on his death-bed, played the part of an affectionate husband and father; he took a tender leave of his wife Theoxena, and sent her and her little child, with much treasure, to her home. It was said that he was laid on the funeral pyre, by the Macedonian ambassador Oxythemus, while still alive. The date of his decease is 289 B.C. (Olympia 122-4).

Agathocles was, no doubt, a very able statesman and warrior; but he was a remorseless, blood-thirsty monster of cruelty and deceit. The times were so bad, that wholesale murders seem to have excited little surprise. He was rather a favourite with the mob, perhaps because he slaughtered thousands of the noble and the rich. The lowest class recognised in him a kindred spirit, and delighted in his imitations of well-known characters, and in his coarse jests and jovial humour.

CHAPTER XXXV

PYRRHUS AND THE ROMANS IN SICILY

THE Sicilians were utterly unable to maintain a free constitution, which Agathocles is said to have granted them before his death. They showed their detestation of him by confiscating and dividing his goods, and overturning his statues. His creatures and his mercenaries were all banished. Mainon did not feel himself safe in Syracuse, and fled to Archagathus, the only survivor of Agathocles' family; who had paved his way to the throne with the bodies of his grandfather and uncle, and had gained over the army at Ætna by gifts and promises, and led it against Syracuse to take the place of his father.

The annals of this time are very confused; but we learn that the Syracusans chose a certain Hicetas as their general. At first, he successfully resisted Archagathus and Mainon; but the latter called up the Carthaginians; and Hicetas made a shameful treaty, by which all exiles, including the mercenaries of Agathocles, were recalled, and the Carthaginians received four hundred hostages. The mercenaries, as new citizens, felt themselves neglected, and flew to arms against the older inhabitants; so that two hostile camps were formed in the city. Some of the older and more influential men succeeded, at last, in persuading the mercenaries to sell their goods and withdraw; and they promised to go to Italy.

But when they reached Messene, which foolishly received them, they liked the place so well, that, as some of their countrymen did before at Entella, they disposed of the men in the city, and took possession of the city and the women. They gave the name of "Mamertina," from "Mamers" (Mars), the national God of the Oscans, to the captured city; and called themselves "Marmertines"; and it was they who subsequently brought the Romans into Sicily. This people rapidly extended themselves in the island, and subdued a part of the north coast, building castles in well-chosen places. They gained and kept possession of a considerable tract of the interior country, as far as Centoripa, and looked on the rest of Sicily as an excellent field for plundering excursions. They showed how great their power was by destroying Camarina and Gela.

In Syracuse, freedom lasted but a short time. Hicetas assumed the tyranny, and maintained himself in power nine years, 288 to 279 B.C. At the same time, other tyrannies were established; that of Heraclides in Leontini; that of Tyndarusis in Tauromenium; and of Phintias in Akragas (Agrigentum). Phintias won a considerable territory in western Sicily; but fell out with Hicetas on the question of the "hegemony," or federal supremacy of Syracuse. In the battle on the river Hyblæus, Hicetas was the conqueror; but the Carthaginians took the side of Phintias. There were now four considerable powers in Sicily; namely, Syracuse, Mamertina, Hicetas, and Carthage. Hicetas led his troops against the Carthaginians, but was defeated; and Phintias then extended his dominion to the east, building a city called after his name (but now Licata) on Mount Ecnomus, to the right of the river Himera; a place already famous in this history, and where a monument once stood in honour of the ancient tyrant Phalaris. But Phintias was hated for his cruelty; and his subject towns, following the lead of Agyrion, rose against his garrisons and expelled

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them. Latterly, he ruled more gently ; it is said that he had a dream of being thrown down by a boar, and gored ; but this is a fictitious tale, invented to explain the boar's head on his coins.

After nine years, Hicetas was expelled from Syracuse by Mamercus, who, however, had to share the rule in that city with Sosistratus, the latter holding possession of Achradina and all the city except Ortygia. These two usurpers carried on war with each other, without any decided result, while the Carthaginians again tried to subdue the whole of Sicily. They ran with a large fleet into the Great Harbour of Syracuse, and besieged the city with fifty thousand men.

There was no longer a free Greece to appeal to for help, as in the time of Timoleon, sixty years before, but only the powerful prince, Pyrrhus, king of the Molossi and Epirus, and son-in-law of Agathocles. Pyrrhus had already come forward as protector of the Italiots, the Greeks settled in Italy. Tarentum had asked his aid, not against the Lucanians, but against the Romans, who were steadily increasing their dominion in Italy. A Roman fleet had appeared before Tarentum, in violation of the treaty which bound them not to pass to the east of the Lacinian promontory. Alarmed by the fall of Thurii, the Tarentines assembled in their market-place, hastily manned their fleet, and succeeded in beating off the Roman ships and slaying the admiral ; the crews were treated as pirates. The Roman ambassador was insulted ; war began, and the Tarentines, feeling their inferiority of force, had no choice but to throw themselves into the arms of Pyrrhus. Rhegium, on the other hand, had applied to Rome for assistance. Rome sent four thousand Campanians, with Decius Jubellius ; who imitated their countrymen in Messene by taking possession of the city. Jubellius himself had to flee to Messene from his own soldiers, who complained of an unfair division of booty. In Messene, he consulted an oculist, who blinded him with an

ointment. Rhegium remained in the hands of the Campanians, who devastated and plundered the surrounding country, destroyed Caulonia, and massacred the Roman garrison in Croton. The punishment which surely awaited them was deferred for a time, while the Romans were dealing with Pyrrhus.

In the year 281 B.C. (473 A.U.C. of the Roman reckoning) the advanced guard of Pyrrhus landed at Tarentum, and in the next year Pyrrhus himself followed with his army, mostly composed of his faithful Epirotes, numbering twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twenty elephants. A great battle was fought between Pyrrhus, "the Eagle," the most splendid general of his day, and the sturdy army of Roman citizens. The Consul Laevinus was defeated by Pyrrhus near Heracleia, where the elephants turned the scale in his favour; and he was able to wrest Lucania from the Romans. But he soon became aware of their superior power. He was trying to carry out his design of acquiring a western empire, with an especial view to the conquest of Sicily. He was already obeyed in all the cities of Magna Græcia, except Rhegium, and had a larger army than either Dionysius or Agathocles had commanded in their time.

But all the efforts of Pyrrhus and of his famous ambassador Cineas were shattered by the stubborn patriotism which the old blind Appius Claudius breathed into the breasts of Roman Senators. Pyrrhus invaded Latium, without disturbing the calmness of the Romans; and when, in the following year, 279 B.C., he gained a victory at Asculum, he derived no benefit from it. He withdrew and took up his winter quarters at Tarentum, discontented with his Italian allies, and longing for a new sphere of action.

He now received envoys from Thoinon and Sosis-tratus, who begged him to save Syracuse from the Carthaginians. Though the prospects they held out were fair, and very much to his taste, he was reluctant

to leave his work in Italy unfinished. It was only at their repeated urgent solicitation that he consented.

Pyrrhus, in 278 B.C., sailed to Locri, with a large army and some elephants, and crossed over to Tauromenium, where he rested for a while; he was fortunate in having the ruler of Tauromenium as his friend. Thence he proceeded to Catana, which received him well, and marched on to Syracuse, his fleet following him.

The Carthaginians had sent away thirty of their ships, and were unable to encounter the sixty ships of Pyrrhus; they withdrew both fleet and army, and the king entered Syracuse in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the citizens. Thoinon surrendered the islet of Ortygia, and Sosistratus the rest of the city.

Pyrrhus was not satisfied with the acquisition of Syracuse, for he hoped to gain possession of the whole island. His fleet now numbered two hundred sail, and the Siceliots were ready to assist him. Heracleides, tyrant of Leontini, sent him four thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, placing them under his direct command. Sosistratus, who had taken Akragas (Agrigentum), and thirty-six smaller towns in the west of Sicily, joined Pyrrhus with eight thousand foot and eight hundred horse. The king waited for some time in Akragas (Agrigentum) for the arrival of his siege machines, and then invaded the Carthaginian territory with thirty thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and some elephants. He first took Heracleia, then Azone, and then Selinus. Halicæ and Segesta voluntarily joined him. Eryx had a strong Carthaginian garrison, which resisted. He battered down the walls, and, when storming became possible, he placed himself at the head of his troops, in shining armour. He had vowed a great sacrifice and public games in honour of Hercules, if the God would help him to show himself a worthy descendant of the *Æacidæ*. The Carthaginians surrendered, and Pyrrhus kept his vow. Then Italia opened her gates to him, and he took Panormus

(Palermo) by storm; the neighbouring castle on Mount Heiracle also fell into his hands.

The whole of Sicily was now freed from the Carthaginians, except Lilybæum, a place at the western extremity of the island. It was of great strength on the land side, where the Carthaginians had built a wall, with towers, and made a deep fosse. It had a strong garrison, a well-stocked armoury, and abundance of provisions. Pyrrhus hesitated to attack it, for he now had the whole of Sicily except this one Carthaginian town, and Messene, which was held by the Mamertines. While he tarried and vacillated, the Carthaginians opened negotiations with him. They offered to give up all Sicily, except Lilybæum, and to pay him money, to furnish him with ships, and generally to assist him against the Romans.

Pyrrhus was inclined to accept these favourable terms, but his friends urged him not to leave a strongly fortified city in the hands of the barbarians. He himself was naturally anxious to get back to Italy, where the Romans were continually gaining ground. The Consul Fabricius, at the close of the year, had triumphed over the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Tarentines, and had taken the town of Heracleia, on the Gulf of Tarentum. Yet Pyrrhus was persuaded to reply to the offers of the Carthaginians by saying that he could only be friends with them if they evacuated the whole of Sicily.

The siege of Lilybæum therefore proceeded, with repeated attempts to storm its walls, but the Carthaginians, who had a large supply of war machines, resisted with the most stubborn valour, and Pyrrhus, after two months of vain assaults, was obliged to withdraw. He was now at a loss what to do, and thought for a moment of imitating the example of Agathocles by attacking Carthage in Africa. For that, however, a fleet was indispensable, and though he had ships enough, they were insufficiently manned. He demanded sailors of the Siceliots, but there were

endless delay in complying with this request; for, though he had done so much for them, they were discontented because he had not done more.

Tormented by the thought of his unfinished work in Italy, he grew impatient and irritable, and took harsh measures against the sluggish Siceliots, to drive them to do their duty. But he only earned their bitter enmity, and lost much of his influence in Sicily. Sosistratus deserted him, and Thoinon he put to death. The Siceliots now looked upon him as a tyrant, and many of them deserted to the Mamertines or to the Carthaginians.

In the year 276 B.C. Pyrrhus returned to Italy, where he was eagerly expected by his harassed friends and adherents. "He left Sicily," says Plutarch, "as a man leaves a stormy sea." Now that the brilliant general had failed—not from his own fault—the Siceliots were left to face Carthage alone!

In Syracuse the old feud was raging between the army and the citizens, the former being more democratic, the latter inclining to aristocracy. The army was stationed at Morgantium, and as they were dissatisfied with the orders they received from the government in Syracuse, they mutinied, and chose their own leaders, Hiero and Artemidorus. Of these, Hiero was the more popular, and took the lead, Artemidorus taking a subordinate position. These two were admitted into the city by treachery, and put down all opposition. In 275 B.C., Hiero stood forward alone; though young, he was famous for his eminent ability and his ceaseless activity. The Syracusans liked to think that he was descended from their ancient ruler of the same name, Hiero I., and from the illustrious Gelon.

But his father, Hierocles, was a Syracusan in no way distinguished; and, as his mother was a maid-servant, he was exposed. As he lay helpless and starving, the bees fed him with honey. This was taken as a sign of divine favour, and his father took

him home and had him educated. When he grew up, Hiero served in the army, won great distinction, and received many honourable presents from Pyrrhus. The Gods continued to show him favour, by an owl which settled on his lance, and an eagle which alighted on his shield. When chosen general, he used his commanding position with great prudence and moderation, and thereby gained many adherents, and the city soon became as devoted to him as the army. But he well knew the changeable, evanescent nature of popularity, and tried to strengthen the foundations of his power. As he was not himself of aristocratic birth, he sought to improve his social position by marrying the daughter of Leptines. The name of his wife is not recorded, but it was probably Philistis, for there is an inscription in the great theatre of Syracuse "To Queen Philistis." Another inscription, not far off, is to Queen Nereis, wife of Hiero's son, Gelon. There are also coins bearing the head of Queen Philistis, wearing a royal diadem, which Hiero's bust does not bear. Leptines, the father-in-law of Hiero, was descended from the historian of the same name.

The position of Hiero II. was very different from that of Dionysius I. and that of Agathocles. They possessed Rhegium, Hipponium, Locri, Croton, and extensive meads and woods in Lucania, and Bruttium. Having docks and naval stations in Italy, they were formidable even to Carthage. But now, the Mamertines possessed a power in Sicily, independent of the Greeks, and Italy was closed to the rulers of Syracuse by the Romans.

The sceptre of Pyrrhus was now slipping from his grasp. When he landed at Beneventum, in the year 275 B.C., he was totally defeated by Marcus Curius Dentatus. He gave up Italy as well as Sicily, and three years after his defeat at Beneventum, his general, Miton, surrendered Tarentum to the Romans. The Mamertines reared their heads again when Pyrrhus withdrew, and they sent a force of ten

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thousand men over the straits before him. When he landed in Italy, these fell upon him, killed two of his elephants, and wounded Pyrrhus himself in the head. This so emboldened the Mamertines, that a giant in splendid armour came from their ranks, and challenged the king to single combat. Then Pyrrhus, with his head still bleeding, came forth, and cleft the giant from head to belly.

Hiero saw the necessity of curbing these troublesome intruders, the Mamertines, who penetrated the country, like a wedge, between the other States. The best way of weakening their position seemed to be by driving the Campanians out of Rhegium, and it is said that when the Consul, Gennucius, besieged that place the Syracusans supplied him with provisions. While the Romans were thus engaged, Hiero made war on Messene, with quite other objects in view. He was much troubled by his mercenaries, who were ill pleased with his mode of carrying on war. What they wanted was continued plunder and confiscation, wholesale massacre, rape, and robbery. Hiero, therefore, following the example of Dionysius, the Elder, led them against the Mamertines, then left them in the lurch, and allowed them to be cut to pieces. He then recruited his army to its former strength, and marched against the Mamertines, who were laying waste the Syracusan territory. But those robbers collected in such large numbers that Hiero had to retreat. He then took Mylæ (Milazzo), and received its garrison of fifteen hundred into his service. He marched into the interior of the island, and captured several Mamertine forts, the most southerly of which was Ameseton, between Centoripa and Agyrion. He also won over some towns, once friendly to the Mamertines—Halaisa, Abacaimon, and Tyndaris. The Mamertines were now confined to their capital, Messene, which was threatened on all sides, by Tauromenium to the south, and by Tyndaris and Mylæ to the west.

Hiero wished to bring on a battle with the Mamertines, who had eight thousand foot, while he had ten thousand, and fifteen hundred cavalry. He advanced, from the coast of the Tyrrhenian Sea, against Messene, and pitched his camp in the territory of Mylæ (Milazzo) on the river Longanos. The enemy were commanded by Cios, whose soothsayer told him that he would pass the night in Hiero's camp. He therefore boldly crossed the river, before Hiero's eyes. Hiero had with him two hundred Messenians, exiles, who were full of zeal and wrath against the Mamertines. He formed a select body of his best men, and made a harangue to them, ordering them to occupy a hill called Thorax, and to fall on the rear of the enemy. The battle remained for a long time undecided, for the Mamertines fought with desperate courage, until they had lost eight hundred men; then they fled. Cios was wounded, and fell into the hands of Hiero, who spared his life and treated him well. But when the servants brought up the captured horses, and Cios recognised his son's horse with empty saddle, he tore the bandage from his wounds, and bled to death.

Hiero was preparing to follow up his victory, and march straight to Messene, when Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, who had a fleet at Lipari, came to him, under pretence of congratulating him on his victory, but really to rob him of its fruits, and to betray him. He secretly sent troops to Messene, and encouraged the Mamertines to resist; and thus Hiero, who did not dare to attack the Carthaginians, again lost his opportunity; and feeling unable to take Messene, returned to Syracuse. The Syracusans thought only of his splendid victory, and not of his failure to take Messene; and greeted him with enthusiastic applause, and hailed him as king.

The Carthaginians, who had formerly destroyed Messene, now thought to capture and hold it by a small garrison, aided by their party in the city. Hiero had not given up his design against that city;

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for the Mamertines were greatly weakened by their defeat, and were now quite unable to maintain their independence. The only question was, to whom they should submit. If they would not surrender to Hiero, they must do so to Carthage, unless they invoked the all-conquering Romans! They inclined to the last alternative for many reasons; especially, on account of the great advantages of their position at Messene, as a *tête du pont*, which would dispose the Romans to grant them favourable conditions.

There were two parties in Messene, the Carthaginian and the Roman, but only the former had soldiers in the town. The Roman party prevailed, but could not expel the Punic garrison; they therefore sent an embassy to Rome, in 263 B.C., to offer their city. The acceptance, by Rome, of this valuable possession brought on the First Punic War, which made the Romans masters of Sicily. But they allowed Hiero to keep his position as King of Syracuse, feeling sure that they could, at any moment, depose and banish him.

The way to Roman dominion in Sicily had long been preparing by the gradual decrease of the Greek and the increase of the Italian element. Timoleon did all in his power to check this ethnological change, but with no enduring results; and it rendered the absorption of Sicily into the Roman Empire more easy and less irksome to her Italianised population. Yet the Greek language still prevailed; and the Siceliots were able to coin money in their own name, which is a certain measure of dignity and independence.

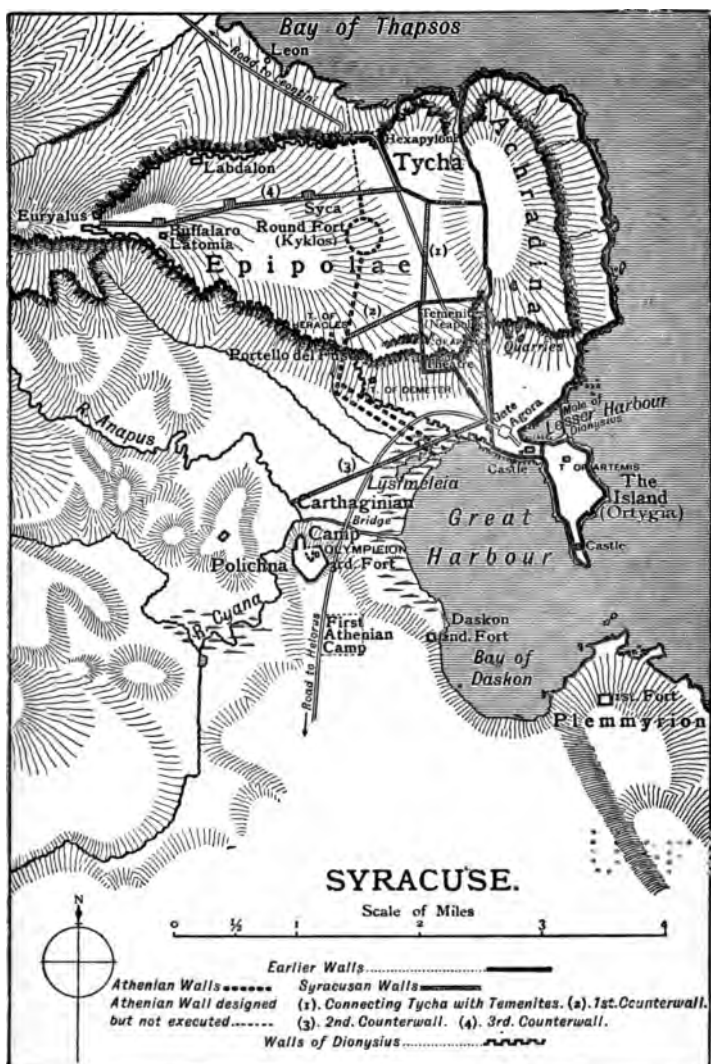
With the beginning of the Punic Wars of Rome, the political history of Sicily comes to an end; and the conquest of Syracuse by Marcellus, in 212 B.C., made but little change.

CHAPTER XXXVI

SIEGE OF SYRACUSE BY MARCELLUS DEFENCE BY ARCHIMEDES

SICILY was now involved in the great war between Rome and Carthage in the Second Punic War. Both Rome and Carthage made the greatest efforts to gain possession of Sicily. Rome sent two of her best generals, Marcellus and Appius Cladius, to maintain her ascendancy in Sicily. There the Syracusans were divided into two parties, who alternately got the upper hand. The young King Hieronymus, who had succeeded Hiero as king of Sicily, and who had joined the Carthaginians, was murdered, and the Romans thought this would facilitate the reduction of Syracuse. But the state of affairs in that city had greatly changed. The savage cruelty of Marcellus, who, having taken Leontini by storm, butchered 2,000 Roman deserters in cold blood, had turned all Sicily against him.

Carthage was ably represented in Syracuse by two brothers, Hippocrates and Epicydes, Sicilians by birth, but who had passed their whole lives in the service of Carthage. After many fluctuations, the fickle Syracusans joined the Carthaginians, and appointed Hippocrates and Epicydes as generals of the Sicilian army. The mercenary troops in the service of Syracuse, alarmed at the severity of the Romans,



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joined Epicydes and Hippocrates, who now became absolute masters of Syracuse. Marcellus, whose cruelty had caused the revolution, after vainly summoning the Syracusans to surrender, determined to besiege the city by land and sea. This siege has been made memorable for all time by the defence of the illustrious Archimedes.

Archimedes, according to some writers, was a kinsman of King Hiero; while others say that he was of low origin. He was one of the greatest mathematicians and mechanicians of all times. His theory of gravity caused Lagrange to say of him, that he was the creator of mechanics in the ancient world. He was ordered by Hiero to test the genuineness of a gold ornament. This he did while bathing, and he was so excited by his success that, without putting on his clothes, he ran home, crying "Eureka! Eureka!" This made him very popular, as did also his saying: "Give me where to stand and I will move the earth." The story that he set fire to the Roman ships by burning glasses on the wall is doubted; but modern experiments by Buffon with powerful glasses in 1747, arranged by the engineer Passemont, prove that it was not impossible. Marcellus made a last attempt to induce the Syracusans to come to terms; but his envoys were not even allowed to enter the city; and the two Carthaginian generals answered from the walls "that they might come again, when those who sent them were masters of Syracuse." Then the siege began both by land and sea—Appius Cladius commanded by land; Marcellus by sea. The Romans were proud of their siege machines, and expected, says Polybius, to take the city in five days by their use at the Stoa Skytike, which lies to the east of the Hexapylum. But they met with their master in Archimedes, and found they could make no impression on the walls. Marcellus now gave up the attack from the land side and assaulted Achradina, which lay open to the sea.

The Romans bound two quinquiremes closely together, so that only the outside oars could be used. On the forepart of each of these a high ladder four feet broad was erected, at the top of which was a platform, holding four men. These ladders were drawn up by pulleys and fastened to the top of the masts till their upper rungs touched the enemies' walls; so that the assailants could mount them. But a man who was greatly their superior in mechanics was there before them. Their ships were bombarded by stones and lead, at a considerable distance; and when they came nearer to the walls, heavy stones and lumps of lead were dropped upon them. Marcellus then attacked only by night. What was still more wonderful, the Syracusans let down grappling hooks which fastened on the beaks of the Roman ships, raised them perpendicularly to a considerable height, and then let them drop into the sea. Even Marcellus saw the humorous side of the situation, and laughed at his own engineers as mere bunglers. But the sailors and marines were in no laughing mood. Archimedes got upon their nerves to such an extent, that when a pole, or any other object, projected from the wall, they fled in consternation till they were out of shot. The immense popularity of Archimedes was extended to Hippocrates and Epicydes, and they met with no opposition from the inhabitants of Syracuse, who were daily delighted at the discomfiture of the Romans. Marcellus was now obliged to give up the attack by sea, but Appius Cladius continued it by land for some time, but with the same want of success. The Syracusans rolled down heavy stones which rendered approach to the walls impossible. The grappling irons took hold of the assailants, and threw them down, so that Marcellus was forced to change the storming into a simple blockade; and tried to prevent all supplies of food being brought into the city. This suspension of active hostilities lasted, according to Polybius, for eight months, and

all the efforts of two great Roman generals, with an immense army and fleet, were foiled and kept at bay by the genius of one great man.

Secret negotiations were carried on between the Romans and the Syracusan partisans of Rome, not far from the Trogilus harbour and the Tower called Galeagrias. During the parley, one of the Romans amused himself by measuring and counting the stones of a portion of the wall, which was rather lower than the rest. He came to the conclusion that the wall might be mounted there by ladders, and reported his discovery to Marcellus. Marcellus at once saw the value of his calculation, and determined to act on it. It so happened that the popular three days' festival of Artemis (Diana) was being celebrated in Syracuse, with far more than usual splendour. As Epicydes was entertaining the populace with costly banquets and drinking bouts, 1000 picked men were sent to the weak spot at midnight with ladders, and the foremost of them scaled the walls without any noise, and helped their comrades up. They soon reached the Hexapylum, and opened a side gate, through which the rest of the army thronged. The guard was overpowered, and Epicydes, seeing the Romans in the middle of the city, retreated to Achradina. Marcellus easily took the lofty Epipolæ, and it is said that he was deeply moved by the sight of the mighty, highly-renowned city, which filled the enormous plain between him and Ortygia with noble edifices—the city which had so long resisted him and his vast armament—now lying at his feet and entirely in his power. At the prayers of the inhabitants, he spared the lives of the freemen, but imposed no other limit on his army, who raged through the city plundering, destroying, and burning. What most painfully interests us in this destruction of a noble city, is the fate of its hero, Archimedes. Marcellus had given strict orders to spare him, for he held him in the greatest admiration, and would,

no doubt, have given much to secure for Rome so valuable an ally; but all his efforts were of no avail. During the storming of the city, Archimedes, who was wrapt in his calculations, being apparently unconscious of the Romans' successful attempt, was engaged in drawing on the floor of his house, when a Roman soldier burst into the room; Archimedes received him with the angry cry of, "Keep off the figures," which so enraged the man that he slew him on the spot, little thinking whose blood he was shedding! It is to the credit of Marcellus that he deeply deplored his miserable fate, gave him honourable burial, and sought out his relations that he might befriend them.

Many years later, Cicero asked a Syracusan friend to shew him the grave of Archimedes, but no one knew anything about it, and Cicero was obliged to search for it himself. He found it at last, utterly neglected, covered with briars and weeds. The great hero had entirely passed out of his countrymen's memory. With deep emotion Cicero paid his homage to the illustrious dead in this deserted spot.

CHAPTER XXXVII

LITERATURE AND ART IN SICILY

I. THE POETS

THE colonies in Sicily did not remain behind their mother-country, Greece, either in literature or in art.

Among the founders of Syracuse was Eumelos, classed with the poets of the Epic Cycle. He is said to have written a "Titanomachia," and an "Epos" on his native city, Corinth. Epic poetry was especially cherished and honoured in Sicily; but its bloom was over in the palmy days of the Greek cities, while Lyric poetry was in full flower.

Lyric poetry had two main branches; the poet either expressed the feelings of an individual, a species cultivated especially by the Ionians of Lesbos; or he wrote in the name of a religious or social fraternity. These choral songs were peculiar to the Doric race, and were fostered by the numerous festivals in which the Dorians took so much delight. It was among them that the love of music was particularly warm; and of the stately and orderly dances of the Spartans and the Cretans, in which poetry, music, and rhythmic movement were so happily blended.

The first poet of eminence in this branch was Alcman, born in Lydia, but a dweller in Sparta, said to be the originator of erotic poetry. Stesichorus, "the poet of Himera," was born in the year 632 B.C., and died in 560 B.C.; he was, therefore, contemporary

with Sappho, Alcæus, Pittacus, and Phalaris, but much later than Aleman. The Locrians maintained that he was the son of Hesiod, who himself was from Metaurus, a Locrian colony of Lower Italy. Hesiod, as Pausanias informs us, was slain by two youths, Ctimenus and Antiphus, on the false charge, as many say, of having outraged their sister Ctimene, whose son Stesichorus was supposed to be. But of the origin and early life of Hesiod, we really know as little as of that of Homer; and many other fathers and mothers are assigned to Stesichorus; Euphemus is the one accepted by Plato. According to other writers, Stesichorus lived between the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth Olympiad, from 640 to 556 B.C. As in the case of so many poets, his birth was distinguished by a favourable portent; a nightingale came and sat on the lips of the babe.

Stesichorus seems to have lived for a time in Locri, but also in other places, and in Catana amongst them. He is said to have been struck blind for a poem against Helen of Troy. On being informed, by the Muses, of the cause of his blindness, he wrote a recantation, his "Palinodia," in which he declared that Helen never went with Paris to Troy, but that Zeus and Hera deceived her lover by a phantom, which he bore away with him thither. Then Stesichorus regained his sight. He lived to the age of eighty-five at least, and probably died at Catana, where his grave was to be seen; but there was also a monument of him at Himera. In the two epitaphs upon him, one in Latin, reference is made to Catana. A statue of him, bowed with age, was seen in Cicero's time at Thermæ; Scipio brought it from Carthage, whither it had been taken after the sack of Himera, and restored it to the Thermitæans, the successors of the Himeræans in their ancient dwelling. Another statue, in the famous "Zeuxippus" at Byzantium, is described by Christodorus. The Thermitæans further honoured him by placing his head on their coins.

Of the illustrious genius and art of Stesichorus, there can be no doubt; they were of the highest order. He is one of the nine chiefs of lyric poetry acknowledged by the ancients; Cicero, Aristides, Dionysius, Longinus, Chrysostom, Quintilian, and Hermogenes, all join in celebrating his praises; and some of them even compare him with Homer. Twenty-six books of his poems are cited, but little, alas! remains of them; only a few fragments, mostly mythological; one Pæan, too, is quoted; and a dirge on a lady, a friend of the poet. The ancients classed him as "an Epic writer in Lyric form." He composed the poem of the funeral games for Pelias, the victim of Medea's treachery, which were celebrated by his son Acastus, in which the most renowned heroes of Greece took part. These were sculptured on the chest of Cypselus and the throne of Amyelæ.

Stesichorus also wrote several poems on the Hercules' myths; of Cerberus, Cycnus, and others; it was either he or the epic poet Perisander who first gave Hercules his lion's skin and club, instead of the armour of a hero. According to Stesichorus, Geryon lived at Tartessus, and is represented as having three bodies, six hands, six legs and wings. Stesichorus also spread the story of the golden bowl, which Hercules borrowed from Helios the Sun-god, to sail in to the Giant's abode. He treated these myths with especial care, because Hercules had rested at the wells of Himera, which the Nymph created for his refreshment.

He wrote, too, of the hunting of the Calydonian Boar, and related many Theban myths in his "Europeia"; in which Athene (Minerva) is represented as sowing the dragon's teeth. Another of his poems told the story of Eriphyle, whom Polynices seduces, by the gift of the necklace of Harmonia—which the Gods had bestowed on her—to send her husband Amphiaræus to certain death in the Theban war. We do not know in which of the poems of Stesichorus he speaks of the fate of Actæon, whom Artemis changed

into a stag, and set his own dogs upon him, for having watched her in her bath. This is the common story; but Stesichorus says that Artemis (Diana) excited his dogs to devour him, to prevent him from carrying off Semele. Sicilian artists followed the story as told by their native poet.

He also wrote much about the Trojan war; and the "Iliou-Persis" is said to have been borrowed from him. The famous "Tabula Iliaca," an ancient relief containing a series of scenes from the war, was made according to his description.

Stesichorus was the first to sing of Daphnis, the favourite theme of later lyric poets, and especially of Theocritus. His "Pæan," a hymn of praise to Apollo, was popular in Sicily in the age of the tyrant Dionysius.

The poems of Stesichorus were sung in theatres by whole choirs, and at banquets; they generally treated of tales connected with the heroes of Lower Italy and Sicily. As we have already said, these poems were very highly valued by the ancients. Quintilian says that their author "achieved as a lyric poet the work of an epic poet"; and that he would have been "worthy to be placed by the side of Homer if he had been more moderate and less diffuse." What Quintilian objected to was probably Stesichorus' frequent use of grand words, a common fault of Sicilian writers. His language was a mixture of Doric and Ionic, his metre was mostly dactylic. Alas, that we cannot judge of his work for ourselves!

Ibycus, the son of Phythius, a native of Rhegium, lived about 540 B.C. (Olympiad 66). He spent a considerable part of his life in Samos, at the court of the tyrant Polycrates, but also lived in Italy and Sicily, and is regarded as a Sicilian poet, closely resembling Stesichorus. He was attacked and killed by robbers near Corinth, and, when dying, he called on some cranes which were flying over his head to avenge him. At the next assembly at Corinth,

the cranes hovered over the heads of the people, and one of the robbers, in a panic, called out: "Behold! the avengers of Ibycus!" Thus were the murderers discovered, and these words passed into a proverb. The works of Ibycus were chiefly erotic, but he probably wrote heroic poems also on the Trojan legends. His dialect was Doric.

Aristoxenus, of Silenus, laid the foundation of dramatic poetry by his iambic satires; and he is said to have been the first to write in anapæstic metre. His date is uncertain, but he flourished not before the fifth century B.C. Besides the true Sicilian poets, and those closely connected with Sicily, there were many foreigners who sang to the Sicilians, and who were warmly cherished by them.

Of these was Arion, of Lesbos, who saved himself, and the rich prizes he had won in Sicily, from the murderous crew of the vessel which carried him, and was borne away to safety on the back of a dolphin attracted by his lyre. The dithyrambs of Arion seemed to the Sicilians a development of their own merry rustic songs. Herodotus says that he was very popular in Sicily. Arion and his lyre were placed among the constellations.

Sappho, too (an Æolic name, Σάπφω), was in Sicily, according to the Parian Chronicle, and there is a slight allusion in Ovid to her flight from Mitylene to Sicily. In a fragment of her own she mentions Panormus as the seat of Aphrodite, which town is probably the modern Sicilian town Palermo. Her date is uncertain, but she was contemporary with Stesichorus and Alcæus. Two generations after Sappho, we hear of Theognis, of Megara in Greece, born about 570 B.C. of noble parents, who was especially the poet of aristocratic elegy. Revolutions in his own city deprived him of his property, and drove him into exile. He bitterly deplores the breaking up of the old aristocracy of birth, and the rise of the lower class through the accumulation of wealth. "The good" (εὖθλοί, well-

born) are now confounded with "the bad" (*κακοί*, meanly born), "for money has mixed the race." Theognis visited Sicily, and received the honour of citizenship from the town of Megara Hyblæa, for which one of his elegies was expressly written, being a greeting to the Syracusans on their rescue from a siege. The gnomic and didactic style of Theognis was very popular in Sicily.

None of the great poets who adorned Hiero's court were natives of Sicily, but from their long sojourn in the beautiful island the visitors from other lands loved it as a second home.

Of these, the most famous was the lyric poet Simonides, of Ceos, who was born in 558 B.C., and died at the age of ninety in 468 B.C. He entered, when young, into the circle of *literati* formed by Hipparchus in Athens, and was intimately acquainted with the Scopades and the Aleuades of Thessaly. He reached his highest flight as a poet in his patriotic glorification of the heroes of the Persian War. He lived some time in Athens, and, in his eightieth year, carried off the prize from numerous rivals as leader of the Cyclic choir.

He went to Sicily after the great victory at Himera, where he gained the favour of both Theron and Hiero, and succeeded in reconciling them in 478 B.C. But Theron soon afterwards died, and Simonides went to reside permanently at Syracuse for the remainder of his life. He was greatly beloved by Hiero, who prized him as a master of the most difficult lyric style and measure, and as a high-bred man of the world and genial companion.

Simonides was fond of money, and was reproached by his rivals as the first writer who sold his works at a fixed price. When Anaxilas, the tyrant of Rhegium, won a victory at Olympia with mules, he asked Simonides to write an *ἐπινίκιον* in his honour, offering him a sum of money. As the amount seemed to the poet too small, he answered that it was beneath his

dignity to celebrate a victory of *mules*. Anaxilas understood the hint, and increased his offer, which Simonides accepted. The tyrant was curious to see how the poet would get over the apparent dereliction of principle. But the cunning poet was equal to the occasion, and began: "Hail, ye daughters of wind-swept steeds!" Simonides used to say that he put the rewards he received into two separate chests; in the one he placed the *thanks*; in the other the *gold*. But when he was in need, he found the first chest empty, and the other alone of use. When his wife asked whether it was better to be wise or rich, he answered: "Rich; for I see the wise at the gates of the wealthy." He is said to have sold a part of the provisions which the tyrant sent him; and for this meanness the philosopher Xenophanes called him a miser and a niggard. These stories are probably exaggerations invented by his envious rivals.

When Hiero asked him his views of the nature of God, he said, that before answering, he must take a day to reflect. Then he asked for two days, and then for four, and at last he said that "the more he reflected on the nature of God, the more incomprehensible it seemed."

He knew how to interest and amuse his patrons; and Xenophon wrote an imaginary conversation between the tyrant and the poet, on the advantages and evils of tyranny, in which Simonides endeavours to show how it might be made beneficial to subjects.

He wrote "epinicia," in which he celebrated the heroic deeds of the Hellenes, hymns, epigrams terse and deep, dithyrambs, and dirges, the last especially well, so that Horace praises the "*Cean nœnia*." Alas! little or nothing is left of his poetry, which was the delight of the ancient Greek world! Of the many poems which related to Sicily, we have hardly anything but the epigram on the golden tripod vowed by the Deinomedes to the Delphic God, and his witty use of a verse of Homer, uttered at the table of Hiero.

Cicero observes, with admiration, that Simonides retained his mental activity to extreme old age, and St. Jerome numbers him among the swan-like writers, who sang most sweetly when near to death. His memory was so retentive that he was considered the inventor of mnemonics. His style was remarkable for its sweetness and the high polish which he bestowed upon it. Though inferior in originality and fire to Sappho, to Alcæus, and to Pindar, none of the Greek lyric poets were more popular than he.

Among the poets who resided at the court of Hiero, at the same time as Simonides, was his nephew Bacchylides, also of Ceos. He took his uncle Simonides for his model, and, like him, wrote hymns, poems, dithyrambs, erotics, drinking songs, and attained great celebrity at the court of Hiero, who, it is said, preferred his verses to those of Pindar. It is inferred from some allusions in Pindar, that Bacchylides was jealous of him and sought to injure him in the eyes of their common patron Hiero, whom Bacchylides flattered outrageously and successfully.

Pindar was of the noble race of the Ægidæ, and was born, either at Thebes or at Cynocephalæ, about the year 521 B.C. (Olympiad 64-3). He came forward very early as a poet, and soon attracted the regard of the ruling families in Greece and Sicily. In his twentieth year he composed his first poem at the request of the Aleuadæ, the most powerful family of Thessaly. It was an epinician ode in honour of Hippocles, a youth belonging to their family, who had won a prize at the Pythian games. His second poem shows his connexion with the rulers of Akragas (Agrigentum, *hodie* Girgenti). The sixth Pythian Ode was written by him at the age of twenty-eight, for Theron's brother, Xenocrates.

He acquired an intimate knowledge of political affairs in Greece and Sicily, enabling him to write the choral songs which, by their sublimity and by their

high moral and religious tone, won the fervid admiration of all Greece. The Rhodians were so enchanted by the seventh Olympian Ode, in honour of the Rhodian boxer Diagoras, of the noble family of the Eratidæ in Ialysus, that they inscribed the whole poem in golden letters on the wall of the temple of Athene, at Cnidus in Rhodes.


When asked why he did not go sooner to Syracuse and the brilliant court of Hiero, he answered: "Because I wish to live for myself, and not for others." He was very independent in character, and not at all inclined to flatter the great. He was, too, very fair in his judgment of the merits of different cities; and, much as he loved Thebes, he was sensible of the superiority of Athens, which he calls "the prop of Greece, glorious Athens, the divine city." This praise so pleased the Athenians that they made him a *πρόξενος*, a public guest, and gave him 10,000 drachmas. But the Thebans were offended, and fined him heavily.

It was not until 474 B.C. (Olympiad 76-3) that Pindar, responding to a pressing invitation from Hiero, went at last with some reluctance to Syracuse. He stayed there only four years, as he did not wish to rival Simonides and Bacchylides in the art of flattery. Pindar died at the age of eighty in Argos, probably in the year 442 B.C. (Olympiad 81-3). Only his Epinicia or Triumphal Odes are preserved; of forty-four of these fifteen are in honour of Siceliots (Sicilian Greeks), winners in the Olympian, Pythian, Nemæan, and Isthmian Games. It was not only with Syracuse and Hiero that Pindar entered into friendly relations; he was equally well disposed towards Theron, tyrant of Akragas (Agrigentum). We have already noticed that he wrote an ode for Theron's brother Xenocrates, in Olympiad 71-3, eighteen years before he celebrated the victory of Hiero in the sixth Pythian Ode. The race was really won by Thrasybulus, the son of Xenocrates, who gave all the glory to his father. Pindar compares his filial devotion to that of

Antilochus, in the "Iliad," towards his father Nestor. He also gives high praise to Akragas (Agrigentum), the refuge of hospitality; and says of Theron that he united wealth and wisdom. "He knows that punishment awaits the sinner in the lower world, but for the good a blessed lot."

A victory in these national contests was a mark of the especial favour of the Blessed Gods; it glorified not only the victor, but his relations and friends, his race, his city, and his fellow-countrymen. A distant and comparatively insignificant town might thus become honourably known throughout the whole of the Greek world. In some of the games, the candidate must compete in person; in others, as the chariot races, it was only necessary to send a chariot and horses. In these, of course, only wealthy and highly honoured men could compete, as they alone could possess the noblest breeds of horses, and bestow on them the necessary care and cost. The extraordinary value attached to these games is proved by the figures of bigæ, quadrigæ, and single horses, which we find on the coins of Messene, Catana, Leontini, Syracuse, Camarina, Gela, Selinus, Himera; and even on the coins with Punic inscriptions of Panormos (Palermo). In some coins, a figure of Nike (Victory) floats over the chariot.

Not all the triumphs recorded were gained at the four great Hellenic Games. Some songs were written for victories in Sicilian contests; though the rulers and wealthy men naturally preferred to appear at the great Panhellenic festivals. Their victories gave occasion for splendid banquets, at which the services of poets and musicians were required; and on such occasions, the Odes of Pindar were sung by well-trained choirs, to the accompaniment of the cithara. The second Pythian seems to be the first of Pindar's Odes in honour of Hiero's victory with a quadriga, probably at Thebes. It is the most difficult of the Odes, because it contains myths and axioms of which



we do not know what reference they have to Hiero's affairs; whether they are, perhaps, warnings addressed to him. Pindar calls Syracuse "the great city, sanctuary of Ares (Mars)," and mentions Ortygia as "the seat where Latona's (Leto's) daughter lingers by the stream." The rescue of the Locrians from the hands of Anaxilas, in 477 B.C. (Olympiad 75-4) is referred to as a quite recent event.

The ancients thought that Pindar, in the denunciation of slander, in this ode, was thinking chiefly of Bacchylides. After praising Hiero, he says, that whoever asserts that any other man in Hellas has obtained more honours and treasures than Hiero, is "only striving with vain thoughts after the useless and the futile"; but he adds an admonition: "Know thyself; and strive after the fair and good."

The first Pythian Ode addressed to Hiero, "The Ætnæans," begins with a noble description of the power of Music; which "extinguishes even the arrows of the Lightning—which controls and rejoices the Gods, even Ares"; but "they whom Zeus loves not, *they* shudder at the sound of melody!"

Other poems were addressed to Hiero and his friends, and to the potentates of Sicily; but we must content ourselves with this hasty glance at some of Pindar's Odes which relate to Sicily.

Syracuse was graced not only by the presence of the greatest of lyric poets, but also by that of the most illustrious of tragedians—the Athenian Æschylus, who had, in his earlier years, been the contemporary of Miltiades, Aristides, and Themistocles, and later was contemporary with the lyric poets Simonides and Pindar.

Æschylus, probably on the invitation of Hiero, visited Sicily, and stayed at the court of Syracuse. Many reasons were given for his leaving Athens. Æschylus was an aristocrat, and saw with disgust and dread the rise of the democracy, with which he was entirely out of sympathy. But there were other and

more personal reasons. According to some accounts, his first visit to Sicily was about 488 B.C., when he is said to have left Athens because the Athenians gave the prize to Simonides for the best elegy on the heroes of Marathon. But this tradition is subject to serious doubt. It is generally assumed that his first visit to Sicily was upon the occasion of his being defeated by the more youthful tragedian Sophocles, which he regarded as a terrible disgrace.

Not long before his arrival at the court of Hiero, the tyrant had founded the town of Ætna, at the base of the great mountain and on the site of the ancient Catana. In honour of this event, the poet composed, in 471 B.C., a play which he called "The Women of Ætna"; in which he prophesied the future greatness of the new city. Hiero also induced him to reproduce, in the theatre at Syracuse, his trilogy, "The Persæ," including "Phineus," "The Persæ," and "Glaucus," with which he had been victorious at Athens in 472 B.C. Some writers maintain that "The Persæ" was *first* performed at Syracuse.

The two occasions, however, on which Æschylus visited Sicily were, first, after the foundation of Ætna by Hiero, and secondly, long after Hiero's death, when he stayed two years at Gela, where he died. The ancients liked to believe that their greatest men met with a strange romantic death; and the death of Æschylus formed no exception. In 456 B.C., when the poet was walking near Gela, an eagle let fall a tortoise, which he was carrying, on to his bald head, mistaking it for a stone; and so fulfilled the prediction that he would die by a blow from heaven!

The Geloans erected a magnificent monument over his body, on which verses by the poet himself were inscribed. In this inscription no mention was made of the lasting fame he had won as a poet, but only of his prowess at Marathon, of which he is said to have been prouder than of his unrivalled poetic genius and art.

His deep interest in Sicily is shown in his "Prometheus," and by his prophecy of an eruption of *Ætna*, which was, naturally, far more interesting to Sicilians than to Athenians, and proves that it was written for the Syracusan stage. The Greek grammarian *Macrobius* calls him a genuine Sicilian. There is no doubt that *Æschylus* introduced the form and scenery of the Syracusan stage.

Still more closely connected with Sicily was *Epicharmus*, the son of *Elothales*, born in *Cos* about 540 B.C., or in the 60th Olympiad. When he was only three months old his father took him to *Megara* in Sicily; but after 483 B.C. when *Megara* was destroyed by *Gelon*, *Epicharmus* removed to *Syracuse*, where he spent the remainder of his life. He there met the chief writers of the age, amongst them *Æschylus*, who seems to have influenced his literary career. *Epicharmus* obtained great fame as a comic writer at *Syracuse*; but the first part of his life seems to have been spent at *Megara* in the study of philosophy, physics, and metaphysics. His father, *Elothales*, had been acquainted with *Pythagoras*, and it was said that *Epicharmus* was a student of the doctrines of that illustrious philosopher, a statement which may be doubted. The style of his comedies, in which the coarsest jests are strangely mingled with philosophical reflections, may have given some colour to the report. *Epicharmus* was highly esteemed in the ancient world; he is mentioned with praise both by *Plato* and *Cicero*, and *Horace* expressly says that *Plautus* imitated him :

"Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare *Epicharmi* Dicitur."

One of the greatest of German scholars and critics, *Ottfried Müller*, said of him that "his scenes of common life are marked with the acute and penetrating genius which characterised the Sicilians." The Sicels were especially adapted to the production of comedy by their keen wit, their lively sense of humour;

and the very numerous festivals in Sicily gave appropriate occasion for the indulgence of their playful temperament; they also loved dancing, and it was said that Andron, in Catana, first accompanied his own dancing with the flute.

Epicharmus seems to have lived, generally, on good terms with Hiero, though he used too freely the license of a comedian, and on one occasion offended the tyrant by an unseemly utterance in the presence of Hiero's wife. When he died, at the age of ninety, or ninety-seven, the Syracusans set up a bronze statue of him, with an inscription to the effect that "as the glorious sun overpowers the light of the stars, so I bear witness that Epicharmus surpassed in wisdom all the citizens of Syracuse, which has awarded to him this crown."

Epicharmus was the oldest Greek writer of comedies, and stands alone as the representative of one branch of Hellenic comedy, for the Attic comedians were not descended from him, though comedy in both was of Doric origin. Plato considered Epicharmus as the originator of Comedy, and Homer as the Father of Tragedy. The aim of Epicharmus was to ridicule the faults of his countrymen, under the figure of mythological personages. His mythological plays were, in fact, *parodies*, which were very popular in Magna Græcia. For example, in his "Busiris," Hercules, after killing the King of Egypt, who sacrificed strangers, rewards himself for his labours by a rich banquet, at which he is introduced as a voracious glutton, as in the satirical dramas. In a few extant verses we are told that, as he ate, his whole face worked together, even his nose and ears. At the wedding of Hebe, a magnificent banquet on Mount Olympus is described, of which fish are a prominent feature. Poseidon (Neptune) has been told to bring a large cargo of fish, in Phœnician ships. At the banquet table, Zeus (Jupiter) takes a large costly fish for himself and his consort. Athene

(Minerva) is made to play on the flute, to accompany the war-dance of Castor and Pollux (the Dioscuri), the same flute which she once threw away because Aphrodite (Venus) ridiculed the distortion of her face while she was blowing it. The Muses are represented as fish-wives, bawling out in favour of the quality of their wares.

In some of these comedies, Hercules appears with Pholos, the Centaur. Other poems by Epicharmus treat of the Trojan cycle of legends. One curious piece is entitled "Comastai," or "The Revellers," in which Hephaistos (Vulcan), by magic arts, fixes his mother, Hera (Juno), to her seat, and only releases her after humble supplications. This scene is frequently represented on Greek vases. Other pieces had such titles as "The Countryman," "The Robbery," and "Land and Sea," in which last, Terra Firma and Ocean contend as to the value of their respective products; also "Hope and Riches," in which the figure of the Parasite, which appears so often in Greek and Roman comedy, is represented for the first time; "The Feast," and "The Islands," in which allusion is made to the help which Hiero offered to the Locrians; and "Theoroi," or "The Festival Envoys," who were deputed to inspect the sacred offerings at Delphi. The titles of some of the plays do not tell us anything of what they contained.

Epicharmus was also renowned as a wise philosopher, for in the midst of his jokes and puns, the ribaldry, and no doubt occasional obscenity, of his productions, occur the most excellent rules of life, so that Iamblichus could say, with truth: "Whoever wishes to express his views of practical life uses the utterances of Epicharmus, which all philosophers have in their mouths." One of his best known maxims was "to be sober"; another "Not to believe everything one hears is the foundation of wisdom." As we have said, Epicharmus was valued and is cited by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; and the Roman poet

Ennius wrote a treatise on natural philosophy, entitled "Epicharmus," which is mainly composed of the sayings of the philosophic Greek poet. "He said, nothing escapes the Godhead; it can do all things." "He called men blown-up bladders." "At death the body returns to earth, the soul hovers in the ether." Among other comic writers who lived under Gelon and Hiero were Phormus and Deinolochus, but it is uncertain whether the latter was, or was not, the son, or the pupil, or a rival of Epicharmus. The name of Phormus is associated by Aristotle with that of Epicharmus as inventor of one branch of comedy. We have the names of eight of his comedies, from which it may be inferred that he chose the same kind of mythological subjects as Epicharmus had treated. This conclusion may likewise be drawn from the few titles which remain to us of the comedies produced by Deinolochus.

Sophron, of Syracuse, the son of Agathocles, gave a literary form to the mimes in which the Sicilians delighted. He was the first who introduced prose comedies into Athens. He flourished in the middle and latter half of the fifth century B.C., and was greatly admired by Plato, who first made his mimes known in Athens, and followed him in his delineations of character; he had the mimes constantly beside him, slept with them under his pillow, and died with his head upon them.

II. WORKS OF ART—TEMPLES—RELIGION.

Temples.

The noblest works of Sicilian Art belong to this period, and no doubt rivalled those of the mother-country. The Sicilians excelled most of all in the grandeur and beauty of their architecture. Among the most celebrated ancient temples in Sicily are those

of Selinus. They lie mostly prostrate on the ground, in two groups;—first, east of the harbour, on a moderate elevation; and second, west of the harbour, on the hill of the citadel. The remains of four temples have been cleared, and their ground-plan clearly marked.

The oldest of these, marked C, stands third going to the south, and is generally supposed to be a temple of Hercules. It is in the Doric style, but with variations from the strict classical type. It is "peripteros," with a complete circuit of pillars, six on the small and seventeen on the long sides. This is peculiar, as in Doric temples in Attica, the number of pillars on the long sides only exceeds that of the two short sides together by one. Temple C is, therefore, abnormally long, though the inter-columnia on the short sides are wider than those on the long. Some of the pillars are mighty monoliths, the others consist of six drums. One of the monoliths, on the south side, measures 25 feet. The great length of this building, the unequal diameter of the pillars, their rapid diminution in circumference as they rise, the heavy entablature, and other eccentricities, all denote great antiquity. This is further confirmed by the discovery of the metopes of this temple, found in fragments by Harris and Angell in 1823. They belong to the front of the temple, and are the third, fourth and fifth metopes, reckoning from the right of the spectator.

The first of these reliefs, which are now at Palermo, represents Perseus in the act of cutting off the head of Medusa. Pallas Athene, standing by, is watching the operation with great satisfaction. The dress of the hero looks like a mere apron, but may be the lower part of a short tunic, the upper part of which was represented by colour. His boots are not, as some suppose, the winged sandals given him by the Muses, but the common boots of the period. On his head, he wears the hat (*κλυῖς*) of Hermes (Mercury).

Medusa has fallen on one knee, and remains quite passive, not to say contented, while her conqueror severs her head from her body. In her arms she tenderly cherishes a small horse, Pegasus, which sprang from her blood. Her face is of the most archaic type; at the same time horrible and ludicrous; her tongue hangs out of the grinning mouth, in which teeth and tusks are seen. She is, as yet, without her snakes; but a number of small curls, in shape like Brussels sprouts, appear under her cap.

The shadowy figure called Athene (Minerva), though she has none of her usual attributes, stands motionless by the side of Perseus in a large robe bordered with a mæander. The unnatural position of the figures is characteristic of the most ancient style. Perseus is striding with long steps, and yet the soles of both feet are flat upon the ground. The legs and feet of both Perseus and Medusa are in profile, to suit the exigencies of the relief style, while the faces, and the upper part of the persons, are *en face*. Still more anomalous is the attitude of the Goddess, whose whole figure is *en face*, except her feet, which are in profile. All three wear the "Æginetan smile," and seem equally pleased with themselves and one another.

The second of these most ancient metopes represents Hercules and the Cercopes, two mischievous apish gnomes, named Passaluos and Acmon, who teased him and robbed him of his club and bow. The hero, whose figure is typically Dorian, square and thick-set, denoting strength and resolution, is striding along, with a pole across his shoulders, to each end of which one of the troublesome little demons is hanging with his head downwards. The style shows the same defects, the same want of proportion, and the same grotesque features, as the first metope; and is evidently of the same age, viz., the end of the seventh century B.C., when Selinus was founded; or, more probably, the beginning of the sixth century B.C.

The third metope, representing a quadriga or biga

chariot, has been put together from fifty-nine fragments. It seems to be of a somewhat later period. It is somewhat different in form; and some writers have held that it was not a metope at all, but a votive offering (*ἀνάθημα*).

We have noticed at some length the two most ancient and interesting metopes; but our scope does not allow us to analyse the others. Full descriptions of them will be found in all good guide-books.

Two other metopes, also at Palermo, were discovered by the above-mentioned English travellers at Selinus, not in the temple on the acropolis, but in a much later one in the lower town, on the edge of a deep gorge through which the river Pispisa flows. The pillars were formed by ten to thirteen drums. This temple, which was never finished, like so many others, had six pillars in front and rear, and fourteen on each side. The entablature and pediments are well preserved. One of these metopes represents the contest of a Goddess and a giant—Athene and Enceladus? The treatment is far more skilful than that of the older ones, and it may belong to the latter half of the sixth century B.C. The contrast between the robed Goddess and the nude giant is very fine and striking.

The D temple, only about 100 palms distant from the C temple, to the north, has many points of similarity with it; it is likewise "peripteros," with six pillars on the short and thirteen on the long sides.

To the sixth century before Christ may be ascribed the temple of Athene (Minerva) in Ortygia, at Syracuse. Its ruins were buried for centuries under the earth, or beneath private houses, and were partially laid bare in 1864. This, too, was "peripteros," with six pillars in front and eighteen or nineteen on the long sides. It belongs, probably, to the period before the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

The art of the coins of ancient Sicily is very similar to that of the metopes, extremely archaic; though the

faces are in profile, the eyes appear as if seen in front.

Greek art exercised a powerful influence even on alien races in Sicily; and Segesta, a town of the Elymi, produced monuments in the Grecian style. Segesta is remarkable for the character of its coins, bearing inscriptions of strange words in Greek letters. Entella and Eryx, and the Phœnician town of Motye, similarly give indications of Greek influence.

Religion.

The Sicilian Greeks had a marked preference for the Gods of rivers and fountains, as we plainly see from their coins. Thus, Naxos worshipped the river Assinos; Catana, the Amenanus; Camarina, the Hyparis; Himera, Gela, and Akragas (Agrigentum), rivers of the same name as these towns; Selinus, the river Hypsos and the river Selinus; sometimes under the form of a youth with small horns; sometimes under that of a bull with a human face. The people of Camarina also worshipped a nymph of their lake, symbolised by a swan; and the Syracusans held in reverence the river Anapos, and the fountain of Cyane, but, above all, the fountain of Arethusa.

This worship of the most necessary element of life was extremely natural to the Greek settlers in a foreign land. But it was not confined to those of the Hellenic race, as is shown by the worship of Porpax and Telmissus in Segesta, of Chrysas in Assorus, and by representations of the rivers of Alontion, Agyrion, and Entella.

But the Greeks also brought their national deities with them; as, for example, Dionysos (Bacchus), and his worship, by the earliest settlers, became general in Sicily. It was natural, too, that Apollo, as their Archegetos, or divine guide, should be widely worshipped, since his followers entered the island from

many quarters; and his cult extended from Naxos, the first Greek settlement, to Catana and Leontini. In Megara Hyblæa and in Selinus, Apollo was especially worshipped as the patron of fountains and wells. A third phase of Apollo was the Apollo Carneios, worshipped from the earliest ages by Dorians. In Gela and Akragas (Agrigentum) we find the Triopian Apollo, so called from Triopion, a headland of Cana, who was connected in the minds of his worshippers with the Cthonies (infernal deities). In Syracuse, he was called Apollo Temenites, after his sacred "temenos" or holy precinct.

Zeus (Jove) rivalled Apollo, among the Sicilian Greeks, as an object of adoration; as Zeus Olympius, Zeus Urios (sender of favourable winds), and Zeus Eleutherios. In Selinus he had an altar in the market-place; but in the Rhodian colonies he was called "Protector of Citadels," as in Gela, Akragas (Agrigentum), and Camarina, and his altar was erected in the acropolis.

The third chief divinity was Athene (Minerva), who was worshipped in Himera even before the arrival of the Greeks. Her cult, as "Tritogeneia," was brought to Syracuse by the Corinthian colonists. The coins show us how widely her worship extended in Sicily.

As we have already seen, Demeter (Ceres) and her daughter Cora (Proserpine) were special favourites of the Sicilians, and, most of all, of the Syracusans, some of whose coins bear the name of Cora. The oldest coins of Catana, Acræ, and Leontini have on them an ear of barley; the later coins, the head of Demeter. Zeus is said to have given Akragas (Agrigentum) to Cora (Proserpine) as a wedding present; and Demeter (Ceres) came to be regarded as the tutelary divinity of the whole island.

The early cult of Artemis (Diana) is proved by the story of Orestes; and she was one of the very first deities brought to Sicily. Ortygia was sacred to her;

and she appears on Syracusan coins as Soteira (Saviour). In Selinus, she appears on coins in company with her brother Apollo.

Pindar mentions Hermes (Mercury) as helping Hiero in a race. Coins of Himera bear his image; and its illustrious citizen, Stesichorus, sang of Hermes' son, Daphnis. Poseidon (Neptune) was worshipped in Messene, Akragas (Agrigentum), Lipari, and Syracuse, as we learn from their coins.

But little is said of Hera (Juno); she was never a very popular deity; perhaps because Homer did not paint her in very attractive colours. But as consort of Zeus, and Queen of Heaven, she was worshipped in Syracuse, Selinus, and other towns.

Aphrodite (Venus), as we have said, was fervently adored through the whole island; and especially at Syracuse, as a colony of Corinth, at Selinus, and in the territory of Akragas (Agrigentum), as we learn from inscriptions above the grave of Minos.

Asklepios (Æsculapius), the great god of medicine, was worshipped at Syracuse, Akragas (Agrigentum), and Himera, as is proved by the cock on their coins; those of Selinus and Messene have the image of Hygieia.

Hephaistos (Vulcan) was worshipped on Ætna, which held his principal forge. The Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, who, as Euripides says, reign over the Sicilian sea and guard the ships, were worshipped in Akragas (Agrigentum); and their image is found on coins of Syracuse and Catana.

The Goddess Tyche gave her name to a suburb of Syracuse; and Pindar, in his Ode to Ergoteles, invokes her as "Soteira" or Saviour.

There was a sanctuary of the Muses in Syracuse; and an altar to the Twelve Gods was erected at the time of the Hellenic settlement. The principal religious festivals were those of Demeter (Ceres), in connection with the Rape of Cora (Proserpine); namely, the "Anthesphoria," or Flower-gathering,

celebrated in spring; the "Thesmophoria," in honour of Demeter, at Syracuse and Akragas (Agrigentum); the "Theogamia," or festival of the Marriage of Hades (Pluto) with Cora (Proserpine); and the Anakolypteria, or Unveiling of the Bride. Other festivals were those of Apollo, of Artemis (Diana), and of Dionysos (Bacchus); that of Artemis had a great influence on the form of Sicilian comedy. There were also festivals in honour of heroes, which were held in spring; and those which took place in private houses, at night, in honour of the nymphs.

III. PHILOSOPHY.

In the Pythagorean doctrines and observances, we see the influence of the East, and a close affinity to the Eleusinian Mysteries; especially in their exaltation of Woman. He said that women were especially formed for the fear and love of God. Among the most famous of his disciples was Theano, who is generally called his wife, and whose reputation for wisdom and virtue was of the highest order. Pythagoras is said to have entrusted many of his secret doctrines to his daughter, Dano, who bequeathed them to her daughter, Bitales for the use of women.

Empedocles, of Elea, in Sicily, also gained many adherents. According to Plato, he visited Athens at the age of sixty-five (probably in or about the 80th Olympiad), accompanied by Zeno, and became acquainted with the youthful Socrates. Plato and Aristotle regard him with much respect and admiration, preferring him to any other member of the Eleatic school.

Empedocles was much honoured in his own country; in the rich cities of Sicily which lay near Elea, his native town. There he was regarded not only as a philosopher and statesman, but as

a man of the most humane and generous disposition; a true philanthropist, who employed his great wealth in helping the poor. In doing this, his knowledge of medicine was a great assistance. There was, however, something strange and weird in his character; in his treatment of diseases, he did not rely on science alone; he claimed to be a worker of miracles. Clothed in purple, with his long hair hanging down his back, with clinking brazen soles to his shoes, and bearing in his hand the fillets and garland of the Delphic God, he marched from city to city, proclaiming of himself:

"For you I wander, as a blessed God on the earth, no longer a mortal! I am he, honoured of all men! Thousands follow my footsteps, asking of me the paths of rescue and salvation! Some require of me oracles; many others healing draughts for various diseases! People! come and be cured!" He was everywhere well received. It was reported throughout Sicily that he had restored to health a woman of Akragas (Agrigentum), named Pantheia, who had been given up by all her physicians. He employed music as a healing power for the mind, and, indirectly, for the body also. By this power he stayed the hand of a youth who had drawn his sword to kill his friend and guest.

Empedocles further claimed to be a ruler of the elements. The historian Timæus relates that when the violent Etesia (the north-west wind) damaged the crops, he placed bags of asses' skin on the mountains, which rendered the storm-wind harmless. He effectually stayed the plague in Selinus which arose from a stagnant pool, by leading, at his own cost, two neighbouring rivers into it. After this beneficent act of generosity, he appeared at a banquet on the river, given by the Selinuntines. The people fell at his feet, and worshipped him as a God.

Many strange stories were related as to the manner of his death in 424 B.C. After the resuscitation of

Pantheia, he held a great sacrificial festival on the estate of Persinax. The guests, after the banquet, went in to rest in the house; but Empedocles alone remained outside. When they returned he was no more to be found, and the slaves could only say that he had suddenly vanished. Only one of them stated that, during the night, he had heard a voice calling "Empedocles!" and that when he arose, being startled by the cry, he saw a brilliant light in the sky. A friend of Empedocles, Pausanias, still made search for him, but soon desisted, and declared that he had become a God. His envious detractors said that he had thrown himself into the crater of *Ætna*, in order that he might not be found, and so might be worshipped as a divinity, but that the fraud was revealed by the casting up of his brazen shoe from the crater.

The Agrigentines set up a statue of Empedocles, with veiled face, to denote the hidden depths of his wisdom. This statue is said to have been taken away by the Romans, and set up in front of the Curia in Rome. Aristotle praises him highly for his weighty and pithy utterances; but also says of him, that he was more physiologist than poet.

Lucretius speaks of him with the utmost enthusiasm, and no doubt took Empedocles for his model. In Book I., "*De Rerum Natura*," he says that Sicily was for many reasons admirable; "but possessed nothing nobler, holier, more wonderful and precious, than Empedocles":

"Nil tamen hoc habuisse viro præclarius in se,
Nec sanctum magis et mirum carumque videtur ;"

who seemed to him hardly to be of mortal lineage :

"Ut vix humanâ videatur stirpe creatus."

He believed in the "Golden Age." He said that it is the duty of men to limit the area in which Ares (Mars) moves, and to extend that of Cypria (Venus).

"The men of *that* age did not worship the grim god of war; nor All-Ruling Zeus; but only the Cyprian Queen." Life on earth he regarded as an exile, and says of himself: "Alas! from what honour, what height of bliss, have I sunk to earth, and must consort with mere mortal things!" He compares the world with a dark and dreary cavern, and calls it a dismal, uncanny abode.

Empedocles founded his assertion of magic powers upon the doctrine of Hate and Love, which, he said, permeate the universe; and upon that of Affinity and Diversity, prevailing in all created things. His science taught him what stones and plants were related to certain evil demons; and thus enabled him to control or to thwart them. He claimed power over the winds; he said: "Whoever learns my doctrines will stay the influence of the winds that, with their poisonous breath, lay waste the blooming fields."

Of this class, one of the most celebrated was Gorgias, of Leontini, born in 483 B.C. (73rd Olympiad), the son of Carmentidas. He was both rhetor and sophist, and adopted the Eleatic doctrine. He passed most of his life in Sicily, and was a great teacher of eloquence and rhetoric; his reputation was so great that the Leontines sent him to Athens, in 427 B.C., to ask help against the Syracusans, a mission which made him famous throughout Greece, especially in Athens.

He loved to roam from city to city; and, like Empedocles, he wore splendid purple garments, and was followed by a devoted crowd of disciples. He sojourned for a long time in Thessalian Larissa, where he had Aristippus, of the race of the Aleuadæ, as a pupil. Among the Thessalians he exercised a great and good influence, teaching them to set a high value on education. He became rich, from the large fees paid him by his pupils, each of whom gave a hundred minæ (about £450) for the privilege of hearing him. In his

sixtieth year he was still very active, and was ready to answer any questions. But when Chærophon, mockingly, asked him "why beans inflated the stomach"? Gorgias replied that "for such questions rods grew in the wood." He considered that Plato's dialogue, called "Gorgias," had been written merely in derision, as it gave no idea of his real doctrine. He called Plato "the new Archilochus," referring to that Archilochus, of Paros, the bitter, licentious, but highly gifted critic and caricaturist, of whom Horace speaks in his "*Ars Poetica*":

"Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo."

Gorgias lived to a very great age, either 105 or 109, and is said, in his 107th year, to have declared that he had no reason to be discontented with old age. In his last days he slept much, and when friends asked him how he felt, he said: "Already the God Hypnos (Sleep) begins to hand me over to his Brother Thanotos (Death)."

His son-in-law, Eumolpus, dedicated a golden image of Gorgias in Delphi, and another in Olympia, which was the scene of his great triumph in a contest for the prize of eloquence.

Prose was then in its earliest stage of formation, and Gorgias was one of the first to use it. The people were used to poetry, but his prose, though not metrical, had a certain rhythmic flow which gratified their ear. Only one of his maxims is left to us, in which he advises his pupils to "oppose earnestness by jests, and jests by earnestness."

A contemporary of Gorgias was Sophron of Syracuse, the son of Æthocles and Damascyllis. Sophron was a distinguished writer of comedies and mimes, of which he was sometimes called the inventor. The mimes were accurate delineations of actual life, and of popular scenes, often very coarse, which the light-blooded Sicilians delighted in. Even Agathocles, cruel tyrant as he was, loved to partake in the rude revelry of the populace; and the drollery with which the comedian

"took off" the figure and manners of well-known persons, caused much laughter. If not the inventor, Sophron was certainly the principal writer of this variety of the Doric comedy.

The comedy of Epicharmus had avoided politics, and it had no further development, being soon eclipsed by the splendid comedies of Athens; but the blank which was left was well filled by Sophron. He divided his mimes into male and female. They were entitled, "The Tunny-fishers," "The Countryman," "The Mother-in-law," "The Bridesmaids," "The Female Tailors," "The Woman who saw the Isthmian Games." Some of the mimes had mythological titles. Sophron showed the greatest talent in depicting the manner of thinking and speaking of the lower classes. His mimes were written in the rhythmic prose which, as we have seen, Gorgias had introduced. Some of the idylls of Theocritus, especially the second and the fifteenth, are said to have included expressions imitated from Sophron. Persius, too, is said to have carefully studied his comedies and mimes. Sophron was followed by his son, Xenarchus, who lived in the reign of Dionysius the Elder.

The reign of the tyrant Agathocles in Syracuse differed from those of Gelon and Hiero I., and of the two Dionysii, by the entire absence of literary movement. No writer of importance resident at his court adorned this turbulent and bloody age. Not that Sicily produced no men of distinguished talent during this period; but his court had no attractions for literary men, and they passed their lives elsewhere, in a more congenial atmosphere. Timæus, the historian, belongs to this period. He was born at Tauromenium, in the year 350 B.C., and was a son of the ruler of that city, Andromachus, Timoleon's first ally in Sicily; he well knew Timoleon, who seemed to him the ideal of humanity. We know but little of the life of Timæus, except that he left Sicily in 314 B.C.; but whither he immediately went is not

known; he may have travelled in *Magna Græcia*, as well as in Sicily, before he went to Athens, where he certainly settled. He lived there uninterruptedly for fifty years, and died at the age of ninety-six. Whether he ever was again at Syracuse, we do not know.

His chief work, of which we have only fragments, was a history of Sicily from the earliest times to the beginning of the First Punic War, when the Romans began to interfere in Sicilian affairs; his work ends where that of Polybius begins. Timæus was extremely bitter in censures of preceding writers of history; in return for which he was severely attacked by Polybius, who asked, how could a man who, during fifty years, never stirred from Athens, know anything of war or diplomacy? But it is difficult to believe that such a mass of knowledge as Timæus possessed could have been acquired without seeing any other city than Athens; and he would also, besides travelling, have had opportunities there of conversing with the continual stream of strangers who visited the sacred city of Athene, and to whom his position, as the son of a ruler, would give him ready access.

Timæus as an author was accused, with some reason, of being an uncritical collector of anecdotes which his adversaries called foolish fables or "an old wife's babble"; yet he gives us many vivid and valuable pictures of the times, such as only readers who are rather pedants will despise. He has, on the other hand, been called, and not unfairly, "the fault-finder"; because he seems to have found it impossible to be impartial and moderate in his judgments of other authors; even of Homer, whom he calls "a glutton" for describing so many feasts in his poems. He sneered at Aristotle, Theophrastus, and others; but highly praised Alcibiades, Demosthenes, and Timoleon. As to the style of Timæus, opinions have differed; but Cicero calls him a master of Asiatic diction, flowing, acute, and clever. There are, however, passages in his work that hardly deserve the

name of history. Speaking of the coincidence that the temple of Artemis (Diana) was burnt on the same day on which Alexander was born, he remarks, that this was "quite natural, for Artemis would wish to be present at the birth of Alexander, and therefore left her temple, to go to Macedon!" And this, too, Cicero finds very clever, and highly picturesque. Timæus is happier when he observes that Dionysius the Elder was born on the same day that Euripides died; and says that the portrayer of tragic passion might properly depart, when the man who was to play such a tragical part in reality came into the world. He says well, also, that Alexander took less time to conquer Asia than Isocrates to write his panegyric upon him; and in some of his reflections, Timæus is genial and witty; but on the whole, he is more of a rhetorician than historian.

The next Sicilian writer of note at the time was Dicæarchus, son of Pheidias, of Messene, one of the Dorian inhabitants of that city. Dicæarchus lived in his youth at Athens, and was a pupil of Aristotle, from some of whose opinions, however, he afterwards differed, but was nevertheless regarded as eminently a Peripatetic. He denied Aristotle's maxim that the happiest life is one of meditation; he exhorted men to active work in the world; and, as a materialist, denied the separate existence of the soul. He wrote a book on the soul, in which he says that it is the "power" of the body, and consists in the harmony of the four elements, wet and dry, warm and cold; and in this he agreed with Aristoxenus, the famous physician of Tarentum. He also wrote on Prophecy, and on the Oracle of Trophonius; in which treatise he censured the luxury of the Greeks. He thought dwelling by the sea injurious, because it facilitated the capture of fish, which he said tended—especially in Sicily—to foster luxury. Dicæarchus, as a geographer, measured mountains, and made charts, and wrote a book in explanation of them, which he called

"Wandering round the Earth." As an historian, he wrote biographical notices of "Seven Wise Men"; among whom were Pythagoras and Plato. We do not know, for certain, whether he wrote on Homer, but he did on Alcæus; and he also reviewed the dramas of Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes. He wrote on the great Games of the Greeks, and on the Dionysiac and musical contests; on the forms of government in Athens, Corinth, and Pellene. He composed a treatise on politics, called "Tripolitikos," in which he advocates, as the best of constitutions, a mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. His work on the constitution of Sparta was so highly valued by the Spartans, that they ordered it to be publicly read to the youths every year. Dicæarchus, whom Cicero prizes highly, lived probably from about 360 B.C. to 290 B.C.

Euhemerus, a Sicilian also of Messene, was a pupil of Theodorus of Cyrene, who was regarded as an atheist. Euhemerus became a friend of the Macedonian Cassander, and was employed by him in political affairs in Asia. He wrote a work entitled "The Holy Record," in which he represents the history of the Gods of Greece as being enacted on earth. As the agent of Cassander, he navigated the Indian Ocean, and, after several days' voyage from Arabia, he reached the holy island of Panchaia, in which no dead were buried; this was the real abode of the Gods, of which, and of its inhabitants, he wrote a lengthy description. Everything in it was of gold; the bed of the Gods, and the furniture of their palaces! There was, too, a large gold pillar, on which the deeds of the Gods—Uranus, Cronos, Zeus, Apollo, Diana—were inscribed by Hermes (Mercury). This book was regarded by the ancients B.C. as derogating from the dignity of the Olympians. But in the Christian era it was prized by some of the Church Fathers, as showing that the heathens themselves knew that their Gods were human beings; and the

author's explanation of Greek mythology was called "Euhemerism."

Philemon, who is regarded as the founder of the "New Comedy" in Athens, where he appeared after the year 332 B.C., was driven from Sicily, not by Agathocles, but after the death of Timoleon. He wrote ninety-seven dramas; and we have the titles of fifty-seven of them. In style, he differed greatly from Menander, who loved short sentences; while Philemon composed in long connected periods, agreeing in this respect with Sicilian writers generally, and especially with the orators. He is inferior in his character-drawing; but his dramas had more of intrigue, and were therefore, for a time, more popular. We get an insight into his play called "The Treasure," from the copy of it by Plautus.

Under the head of Architecture, in the latter part of the fourth century B.C., we read of a building erected by Agathocles, called the "Hexacontacteros," which contained sixty rooms. As, with his usual insolent audacity, he had made it far more magnificent than the temples of the Gods, this edifice, together with some towers of coloured stone named after Agathocles, was destroyed by lightning. Agathocles had also a picture made of a battle he had won, and hung it up in the temple of Athene. Some stone heads, too, of a pathetic expression, belong to this period.

Art, as well as Literature, flourished at Syracuse under Hiero II. Diodorus mentions several monuments, there and at Agyrion, of that period, but above all the great theatre, which, though erected at an earlier date, received its most splendid form in the time of Hiero II., whose name is found in an extant inscription. This theatre stood in the suburb of Neapolis. From its upper benches the eye could range over the plain of Syracuse, through which the river Anapas flows, and which once was adorned with stately buildings. The theatre which we now

see is the one built by Democopus Myrilla, in which the tragedies of Æschylus and Epicharmus were acted. It was also the place of public assembly in the times of Dion, of Timoleon, and of Agathocles. The remains of the stage are evidently Roman,

Close by the theatre are the famous "Latomix" (stone-quarries) "of the Paradise"—as we should say "the Park Quarries." These contained the winding passage, which has, since the sixteenth century, been called "the Ear of Dionysius." It is in the form of the letter S, and is 224 palm-measures in length, eighty high. Above this passage was, no doubt, a palace, from which Dionysius could safely view the stage, and could overhear the conversation that was carried on in the Latomix.

On the way from the isle of Ortygia to the theatre we find a monument which, Diodorus says, belongs to the reign of Hiero II. It is a huge altar, a stadium (606 feet) in length, the ruins of which were discovered in 1839. These were fragments of triglyphs of Doric entablature, with lions' heads and a mutilated eagle. Serra di Falco attempted a restoration of this building.

The castle on Epipolæ, which should be called Euryelus, also belongs to the age of Hiero II. The fortifications, which still excite the surprise and admiration of modern military men, must be ascribed to Dionysius the Elder.

The "Chapel of Phalaris," at Akragas (Agrigentum), and the "Grave of Theron" belong to Roman times. The temple at Segesta is ascribed by Holm to the fourth century before Christ.

IV. SONGS OF SICILY: THEOCRITUS.

Theocritus was the pride of Sicily among the later poets, as Stesichorus among the earlier; and he has the glory of adding a new field to Greek literature, that of Bucolic poetry.

He was the son of Protagoras and Philina, born at Syracuse about the year 295 B.C. This nativity has been disputed, some thinking that Cos was his birth-place; but his own works furnish internal evidence of his Syracusan nationality. He is doubly Sicilian, by affection for this origin, and by his poetry. Virgil, in his sixth Eclogue, speaks of Syracusan verse in connection with Theocritus, and the latter's own poems show that he regarded Sicily as his home. In the eleventh Idyll, he speaks of Polyphemus as a shepherd, "who lives among *us*"; ὁ Κύκλωψ ὁ πᾶρ' ἡμῶν; and in the twenty-eighth, he speaks of Sicily as "*our* land," ἀμετέρας ἔνσαν ἀποχθονός. In the sixteenth, he says that the Muses were obliged to leave Sicily, where they were not welcome, and to go home disappointed, ἀπρακταί, not finding a patron. Yet some writers maintain that he came from Cos, and no doubt he went in early youth to that island. In the seventh Idyll he honours Philetas, of Cos, as his teacher; which shows that he was a disciple of the Alexandrian school. He was, naturally, drawn to Alexandria, because Philetas went there as tutor to Ptolemy Philadelphus. But it was in Cos that he became acquainted with his dear friend Nicias, the physician, and with Aratus, who flourished at the great school of medicine in that island.

The sixteenth Idyll was written in 269 B.C., when he travelled much, and proved himself a great poet, and attracted the notice and the favour of patrons. If he sojourned in Alexandria in 270 B.C. he would be an interested witness of the extraordinary literary activity of that marvellous city. But he saw only the beginning of the development of the Alexandrian school, for its most celebrated authors, Apollonius of Rhodes, Eratosthenes, Aristophanes of Byzantium, Rhiano, and the greatest of all, Callimachus of Cyrene, were all younger than our poet. He may have been contemporary with Theocritus, but it is doubtful whether Callimachus was at Alexandria in 270 B.C.

Theocritus preserved his literary independence, and did not come forward as successor to Philetas. But we see the influence of Callimachus and others in his preference for the Epos: his youthful poems are purely epical. Some authorities maintain that his bucolic poems are the work of his youth, but this is extremely improbable. They are much superior to his epic poetry, and we can hardly believe that he wrote his most original and immortal songs in his early days, and then, in his maturity, went back to weak imitations of the older style. He probably wrote his epics in the beginning of his career, down to his second visit to Alexandria in 260 B.C. They embrace the time of his sojourn in Cos, his first visit to Alexandria, and a longer residence in Syracuse. We cannot say, with any certainty, what he wrote in Cos and what he wrote in Alexandria, but we see very clearly what he wrote in Syracuse. There is the 22nd Idyll, "The Dioscuri," *Κάστορα, καὶ φοβερὸν Πολυδείκεα*, with their rape of the daughters of Leucippus, named Phœbe and Talaria, and their fight with the maidens' betrothed lovers, in which Castor is killed by Lynceus, and Lynceus by Pollux. This poem, though only a weak imitation of Homer, shows promise of the future bucolics in the author's description of the country where the Dioscuri find Amycus. Another of his early poems, the 24th Idyll, describes the struggle of the infant Hercules with the serpents which Hera (Juno) caused to be placed in his cradle; the boy holds up the dead snakes to his mother, and Tiresias prophesies to Alcmena the future glory and immortality of her son. A second poem in praise of Hercules is the 25th, called *Ἡρακλῆς Λεοντόφονος*, "Hercules the Lion-Killer," which contains a genuine bucolic addition, humorously describing the enormous appetite of the great hero.

The 13th Idyll of Theocritus shows a transition from epic to erotic poetry. It is dedicated to his dear friend Nicias, and describes the rape of Hylas by the nymphs. This poem, too, gives proof of his love of

rural scenes, and it is a great advance on his former Idylls. Other "erotics" are found in the 12th, 19th, and 30th. Hitherto, Theocritus had not been original, and it is hardly surprising that the King of Egypt did not grant him gifts, prizes, and honours, or that he left Alexandria, with all its fabulous splendour, and returned to Sicily to fulfil his destiny as the greatest of bucolic poets.

Bucolic poetry took its rise from the people of Sicily. The prolegomena and scholia to Theocritus trace its origin to Laconia, where, when the Persian war was imminent, the maidens who were to celebrate a festival in honour of Artemis (Diana) could not be found, and so the countrymen came and sang the customary hymns to the Goddess. There are other accounts, but that of Athenæus seems the best. The herdsmen in Sicily had a song called "Bucaliasmus." Epicharmus relates that the Siceliot Diomus invented bucolic verse. Others carry it back to Daphnis, or to his companion in hunting, his mythical friend Artemis (Diana). Diodorus, also, credits Daphnis with the invention, but some ascribe it to Stesichorus, who wrote a poem on Daphnis. But it is certain that bucolic poetry received its laws and its highest development from Theocritus.

We have, unfortunately, none of the popular bucolics existing previously to his compositions, upon which he, no doubt, would lean. The general themes, however, of his bucolics are poetic and musical contests, of which we have good examples in the 1st, the 7th, and the 8th Idylls.

In the eighth Idyll, Menalcas meets the beautiful Daphnis, who is feeding his oxen on the high hills. Both men are in their early youth, both have auburn hair, both are skilled in blowing the pipe, and both in singing.

MENALCAS speaks first: "O Daphnis, guardian of the lowing oxen! Wilt thou contend with me in song? I say that I shall certainly beat thee in singing as completely as I wish!"

DAPHNIS replies: "O Menalcas, pipe-player of the woolly sheep! Thou wilt never conquer me, though thou sing till thou burst!"

MENALCAS: "Wilt thou, then, make trial with me? Wilt thou deposit a prize?"

DAPHNIS: "I will."

M. "But what can we stake that is worthy of us?"

D. "I will stake a calf. Do thou stake a lamb, equal to its mother."

M. "I shall never offer a lamb; for my father and mother are difficult to deal with, and they count the sheep every evening."

D. "What, then, wilt thou stake?"

M. "I will offer a pipe of nine holes, which I myself have made. But my father's property I will not stake."

D. "I, too, offer a pipe. But who will judge between us?"

M. "Suppose we call the goat-herd, whose white dog we hear barking near us?"

The two youths then summon Caprarius, who undertakes the office of umpire.

MENALCAS sings first: "O ye valleys and streams! ye, a divine race! If ever Menalcas has sung to you a sweet verse, kindly feed my lambs! And if ever Daphnis comes hither with calves, let him meet with the same favour!"

DAPHNIS responds: "O ye fountains! and ye herbs, a delightful growth! If ever Daphnis sings like the nightingale, feed and fatten my herd of oxen! And if Menalcas should lead any flocks hither, let them feed joyfully on abundant food. . . . When the fair girl comes hither, it is spring! and there is pasture, and milk, and all! But when she departs—the shepherd withers, and the grass."

Thus they sang alternately, at considerable length; and Caprarius awarded the prize to Daphnis.

From that time Daphnis was considered the first singer among the shepherds; and, though so young a man, he marries the fair nymph Nais.

The scene of the seventh Idyll is laid in Cos. Another, the first Idyll, is very typical of the themes, and the style and colour of Theocritus' bucolic poetry; it has the mournful, pathetic tone, so characteristic of bucolic poetry, often in strong contrast with the merriment and keen enjoyment of other idylls.

Thyrsis the shepherd, and Caprarius the goat-herd, meet and converse in a friendly manner.

THYRSIS: "Sweetly sounds the murmuring whisper, O Caprarius! of that pine near the fountain; and thou thyself playest sweetly on the pipe. After Pan, thou shalt bear away the next prize; if he chooses to receive a horned he-goat, thou shalt win a goat; but if the god choose a goat, for thee shall be the she-goat; and the flesh of the she-goats is good until they are milked."

CAPRARIUS: "Sweeter still is thy song, O shepherd! when it flows down like water from the lofty rock. If the Muses bear away a lamb as a prize, then thou shalt receive a stall-fed sheep."

THYRSIS: "Wilt thou, Caprarius—by the Nymphs, wilt thou sit here on this hillock, where the tamarinds grow, and play upon thy pipe?"

CAPRARIUS: "It is not lawful, O shepherd! now in mid-day, to play on the pipe. We are afraid of Pan, for at this time he is weary of the chase, and rests. And he is irritable; and the gall rises in his nostrils. But thou, O Thyrsis! knowest all the sorrows of Daphnis, and thou hast reached the summit of the bucolic Muse.

"Come, then, let us sit here beneath this elm, opposite to Priapus and the fountain. And if thou wilt sing, as thou sangest in a contest with the Lydian shepherd Chromis, I will give thee a goat, the mother of twins, which thou mayest milk three times a day; and she, while suckling her young, will fill three pails for thee. Moreover, I will give thee a large, deep goblet" (*κισσύβιον*, a rustic cup, generally of wood), "glued with sweet wax, with two handles; it is new, still redolent of the sculptor's hand; the lips are crowned with ivy, fastened with *helichryse*, and round it roll the tendrils, pleased with the yellow fruit. Within is the divine image of a woman sculptured; she is adorned with a peplus and a fillet. And near her, two men with fair hair are bandying words, but they do not move her at all; she looks, smiling, now at one, and now at the other; but they, with eyes swelling and full of tears from love, labour long in vain.

"Between them is fashioned a rugged rock; and an old fisherman, who hastily drags his great net over the stones, preparing for a throw, and labouring greatly, as a man does for his living; you would say that he is fishing with all his limbs, for the veins swell in his neck, and though his head is hoary, his strength is worthy of a youth.

"Not far from the old seaman is a vine, laden with ruddy grapes, which a little boy is guarding, near a hedge. And about the boy are two foxes; one walks along the rows of vines,

injuring the ripe fruit; the other, near the boy's wallet, is plotting mischief, saying to himself that he will not leave this boy till he have made him 'a dry breakfast'—which is none at all! But the boy is plaiting, with the top stalks of grass, a pretty cage tied up with string, to catch the cicadæ; little cares he for wallet or the fruit of the vine, while he delights himself with his weaving.

"Around the whole goblet runs the soft acanthus; this is an Æolic marvel, wonderful, astounding the mind. For this I gave a goat to a Calydonian sailor, and a mighty cheese of pure white milk. Never have I put my lips to it; it is still untouched; and this I will gladly give thee, O friend! if thou wilt sing me a lovely song."

With the promise of such rewards, it is no wonder that Thyrsis now begins to sing:

"O sweet Muses! Begin, begin the bucolic measure! Here is Thyrsis, and this is the voice of Thyrsis:—

"Where were ye, O Nymphs! where were ye? when Daphnis was pining away with love? Were ye, perchance, in fair Tempe, on the banks of Peneius, or were ye around Mount Pindus? for ye did not then haunt the river Anapus, or the heights of Ætna, or the sacred waters of Acis. Him, Daphnis, the lynxes and the wolves deplore with dreadful howlings, and even the lion in the forest has wept over him when dying.

"Begin, O sweet Muses! begin the bucolic measure! Many cows, many bulls, mourned at his feet; many heifers and calves. Hermes (Mercury) came to him from the mountain, and spake to him: 'O Daphnis! who is destroying thee? for whom dost thou burn with love?'

"Begin, sweet Muses, begin the bucolic strain!

"The ox-herds, the shepherds, the goat-herds came, and asked from what malady he was suffering. Priapus came and asked: 'O wretched Daphnis, why dost thou thus pine and waste away?' The very girls ran through the woods, and over the mountains, to see him dying. At last sweet Cypris (Venus) came, feigning a smile, but angry at heart. 'Thou didst boast, Daphnis,' she said, 'that thou couldst bend and vanquish Love, and now thou art thyself conquered by love.' To this he answered:

"O sad Venus, hateful Venus, enemy of men! for now the Sun reveals everything to us; and in Hades love will be an evil thing. Go to Mount Ida, where, they say, the shepherd came to Venus; go to Anchises, there among the oaks; but here is the cypress; here the bees are buzzing sweetly around their hives.

"Begin, sweet Muses, begin the bucolic strain!

"Adonis is beautiful; and he, too, feeds the sheep, and shoots

the hares, and chases other animals; go, Venus, to him! Go and face Diomedes again, and say to him, 'I have conquered the shepherd Daphnis; come, fight now with me!'

"Farewell, ye wolves, ye lynxes (jackals), farewell! I, the herdsman Daphnis, shall no more be with you, in the woods or in the groves. Farewell, Arethusa, who rollest the sweet waters near the grave of Thymbris! O Pan! Pan, if now thou abidest in great Mænalus, come to the island of Sicily; and leave the headland of Helice and the lofty sepulchre of Lycaonides, revered even by the Blessed Gods!

"Cease, O Muses! cease the bucolic song!

"Come, O King! and bear away the sweet well-fitted pipe, made fair with wax, well suited to the lips; for I am dragged away by Love to Hades.

"Cease, ye Muses, cease the bucolic song!

"Now, let the brambles bear sweet violets; let the acanthus flower with juniper; let all things be contrary, since Daphnis dies. Let the stag take the dogs captive, and let the seamew contend with the nightingale in warbling; for Daphnis dies."

Having thus spoken, he ceased. Venus, indeed, wished to raise him up again; but all the threads of life were cut by the Parcæ (the Fates). The whirlpool (of death) overwhelmed the man, dear to the Muses, and not unpleasing to the Nymphs.

"Cease, O Muses! cease the bucolic song! Do thou, O Caprarius, give the goblet and the she-goat to Thyrsis; and I will milk a libation to the Muses."

THYRSIS: "Hail! and again Hail, O ye *Muses*! Hereafter, I will sing to you more sweetly than ever!"

CAPRARIUS: "O Thyrsis! may thy fair mouth be filled with honey! for thou singest more sweetly than the cicada. Behold the cup! Observe, O friend, how sweetly it smells; thou wouldst say that it had been washed in the Fountain of the Hours. Come hither, Cissætha; milk this goat! And ye kids, beware of leaping, lest the he-goat fall upon you!"

But perhaps the best known and most popular of the Idylls of Theocritus is the eleventh, which relates the Wooing of Galatea by the Cyclops Polyphemus. It begins thus:

"There is no other remedy for love, O Nicias! but the Pierides (the Muses), and this remedy is light and sweet for all men; but to find it is not easy. Thou, as a physician, and one greatly beloved by the Muses, must know this well.

"So, certainly, that noted Cyclops lived among us, that Polyphemus, of long ago, with the light of youth upon his mouth and temples, when he was in love with Galatea. But he did not woo her with roses, or with apples, or the fruit of the cici

(olive?) tree; but with destructive raging; for he considered all things unimportant but his own desire. He often left the sheep to wander home by themselves from the green pasture, while he was singing of Galatea, and pining away on the weeds of the sea-shore from the rising of the sun. For all-powerful Venus had inflicted a deadly wound on his heart. But he found the remedy; sitting on a high rock, with a wide view over the sea, he sang these things:

"O, fairest Galatea! why dost thou shun thy lover? Whiter art thou to look on than curdled milk, more tender than the lamb, more wanton than the calf, more shining than the unripe grape.

"Thou comest hither, when sweet sleep holds me; thou flittest away, when sweet sleep leaves me; thou fleest, like the sheep who see the grey wolf coming.

"I loved thee first, when thou camest with thy mother to gather hyacinths from the mountain, and I was thy leader on the way. But I could not cease, from that day to this, to look on thee; but, by Jove! thou carest not a bit for me.

"I know, O charming girl! why thou fleest from me; it is because my shaggy eye-brows stretch over my forehead, from ear to ear; and because there is but one eye beneath them, and my broad nose hangs over my lips.

"But such as I am, I feed a thousand cattle, and from them I draw the sweetest milk. Neither in summer nor autumn nor in the coldest winter, does cheese ever fail me; my baskets and crates are always over full.

"I can play on the pipe better than any young brother Cyclops, here; celebrating, at the same time, thee, my dear sweet apple, and myself, mostly in the dead of night. And I am rearing for thee eleven hinds, all with young, and four cubs of bears. Only come to me, and thou shalt lack nothing. Let the gleaming sea spread itself on the beach; thou wilt pass the night more happily with me in my cave. There are laurels around it, cypresses, and dark ivy; there is a vine, bearing delicious fruit. There is cool water, a delicious drink, which wooded *Ætna* sends down for me from the white snow on the heights—an ambrosial drink. Who, instead of these joys, would prefer to live alone in the caves beside the sea? Though I may seem too shaggy, I have plenty of logs of oak to keep up an undying fire smouldering beneath the embers. If spurned by thee, I would willingly yield my life! I have but one eye; but nothing is more precious to me. Alas! that my mother did not bring me forth with arms; then I would go down to find thee, and kiss thy hand if thou wouldst not give thy lips. I would bring thee white lilies, and the tender poppy with its ruddy petals; though the latter blooms in summer and the former in winter,

wherefore I cannot bring them to you both at once. And, besides, O maiden ! I will teach thee to swim, to be safe if any stranger should touch here with his ship, and to learn what is the pleasure of dwelling in the deep sea. Then go forth, Galatea, if thou wilt ; but forget not to return home, when I am sitting here ; but come back to feed the sheep with me, and to draw the milk from the cows, and to press the cheese, after throwing in the sharp rennet.

" My mother only has used me ill ; it is of her I complain. She has never said a loving word about me to a friend, especially now since she sees me daily growing thinner. I should say that my head and both my feet are throbbing, from the grief that I feel."

GALATEA sang in reply : " O Cyclops, Cyclops ! whither is thy mind wandering ? If thou wert now to go and weave baskets of twigs, or cut the leafy boughs of the shrubs for the lambs, it would be of more use, and thou wouldst be in a better state. Perhaps, at last, thou wilt find Galatea or another fairer than she is ; for many maidens are there, who bid me play with them, and who laugh with me, merrily, while I listen to them."

" Thus Polyphemus fed his love by song."

The 27th Idyll of Theocritus, "*Daphnis et Puella*," is a good example of the erotic kind, and of his coarse, but highly poetical, treatment of such topics. We see that he presents us with a faithful picture of the life of the Sicilian people. He does not introduce allegory, or affect refinement for his shepherds and herdsmen ; but paints them as they were. Virgil's rustics are no more like real men of any rank than the shepherds and shepherdesses of the Trianons at Versailles ; and his Eclogues are, therefore, cold and disappointing. Our limits of space do not permit of translations from more than three of Theocritus' Idylls, which we hope will give some idea of their method and their tone. One may, however, be mentioned here, the "*Epithalamium of Helen*," supposed to be chanted to her on the day of her marriage with Menelaus, by twelve Spartan maidens of the noblest families. It stands as the 18th Idyll.

The taste for bucolic poetry was not confined to actual shepherds or herdsmen and peasants. When

Theocritus was in Cos, there was a company of youths, of higher birth and education, who dressed like shepherds, and amused themselves by singing their own poetry. To this class Theocritus belonged. They had a religious centre in that island, much under the influence of Philetas. But when he wrote the 16th Idyll, Theocritus was in Sicily. It is entitled, "The Charites (Graces) and Hiero." This is a bitter plaint over the poet's lot. The Muses, he says, are angry with him, because he has brought them so far from home, procured them neither rewards nor honours, and sent them away with naked feet. And yet he said, the Poet is necessary to the Great, to hand down their fame to future ages. He boldly demanded gifts from Hiero, but got little from him, and returned to Alexandria in disgust. The charming 28th Idyll was written during the journey, when he travelled to Egypt by way of Miletus, and presented a spinning-wheel to Theugenides, the Sicilian wife of his dear friend Nicias.

It may seem singular that this series of Idylls, faithfully portraying the rude and simple life of rustics, should have been produced in an age of the highest culture, by a man of the greatest intellectual and social refinement. The shepherds of Theocritus are by no means ideal men; they are neither more handsome nor more virtuous than the ordinary shepherd. But the objectivity of his delineations, the truth and loveliness of his descriptions of the beauties of Nature, the skilful way in which he develops the natural character of the simple denizens of the fields and hills, make his Idylls the most perfect which have ever been produced in any age or language.

Nor can we be surprised that the Idylls of Theocritus were received with delight and applause by the wealthy and luxurious society of Syracuse and Alexandria. The contrast which they present to the exaggerated and sickly refinement of the

pleasure-loving crowd of those gay and dissolute cities, was peculiarly adapted to gratify the jaded taste of the tired votaries of Bacchus and Venus. Theocritus, too, a man of the world, accustomed to the life of brilliant courts, was just in a position to appreciate the simple character and delights of the pastoral life, which his vivid imagination and his unrivalled poetic art enabled him to portray in the truest and liveliest colours. It is not the rustic or the mountaineer who feels most deeply the charms of green pastures and wooded hills and murmuring brooks, but the tired and sated dweller in crowded and noisy cities, from which Nature is expelled.

To the latter half of Theocritus' life belong the Idylls 29 and 30, of which the latter was only discovered towards the end of the seventeenth century. Besides the Idylls, there are some Epigrams by Theocritus, which we do not propose to notice here. Nor will our limits allow us to speak of Bion and Moschus, who belong to this age.

The extraordinary popularity of the Idylls of Theocritus is proved by the frequency with which they have been imitated; among others, by Virgil, who partly translated some of them, but who falls short of his perfection. One misses in Virgil's Eclogues the individuality and reality which our poet gives to all his figures.

It was probably from Sicily and Magna Græcia that Virgil, Horace, and other Romans imbibed the spirit of Greek poetry, rather than from Athens. And the poetry of Modern Italy, in Dante's predecessors, sprang from Sicilian examples at the court of the Emperor Frederick II., in Palermo, borrowing from the Saracens their forms of rhymed versification. In later times of Italian literary history, Neapolitans and Sicilians have done much good work, as they still do at the present day. There is, it seems, in Southern Italy and in Sicily, a distinct strain of some element of national genius, tinged by Greek culture, preserv-

ing its originality independent of Roman, Tuscan, and Lombard influences.

In the time of Nero (another Sicilian), Calpurnius wrote Idylls in Latin, imitating not Theocritus, but Virgil. Since the end of the third century B.C., when Idylls were written by Nemesianus, bucolic poetry had exercised a greatly increasing influence on the sentiments of the educated classes, who loved to contrast the country life, its simplicity and ease, with the corrupt and anxious life of "the great world." They regarded the early pastoral way of living as identical with the Golden Age; and knowing that the nomad condition preceded the agricultural, they imagined in the shepherd's life a higher civilisation of temperance and virtue. Not only idylls, but pastoral romances, as for example that of Longinus, found high favour.

This tendency continued or reappeared in the Middle Ages. In France and Germany pastoral poems were again in vogue, but they were mostly lyric. At the Renaissance, the old bucolic was revived, and gained general popularity. The forms and ideals of classical antiquity were looked on as an ideal world, into which men gladly sought to escape from the exaggerated barbaric present.

In the fourteenth century of Christendom, Petrarch and Boccaccio wrote Idylls; and in the after-bloom of Mediæval Romantic poesy, Torquato Tasso presented them in dramatic form; Ariosto, too, inserts idyllic episodes in his varied Epos; and Cervantes and other men of genius in Spain and other countries of Southern Europe cultivated this fair field of fancy. The highly-gifted Sannazzaro, a Neapolitan, the worshipper of Virgil, imitates Theocritus in Latin verse.

The love of pastoral poetry has not ceased, either in Sicily and Italy, or in Spain, France, England, Germany, or Holland. At the end of the seventeenth century a whole school of Italian poets assumed the

shepherd's garb and mask, and called their society "Arcadia." In the middle of the eighteenth century we witness the "Return to Nature," which Rousseau advocated in politics, education, and social life, when men turned from the stiff, lifeless, affectation of French and Italian parterres, to the free, natural loveliness of English gardens. The Idylls of the German Gesner were greeted with deserved applause, though he falls infinitely short of Theocritus, and is rather a follower of Longinus than of the great Sicilian bard.

We cannot pursue this fascinating theme any further, as it would lead us far beyond our scope. One more name, however, we must mention; that of Giovanni Meli, a physician of Palermo (1745 to 1815), who wrote in the Sicilian dialect, and produced some of the fairest flowers of bucolic poetry. In his Eclogue of "The Seasons" he describes their aspects with a graceful mixture of narrative, reflection, dialogue, and lyric monologue; and has so well caught the tone of the people for whom he writes, that he is universally popular, and is called "the modern Theocritus." He lacks, indeed, the strength and passion of his model, but in naturalness and beauty almost equals him. Goethe mentions Meli with high praise; and Gregorovius has made an excellent translation of his songs.

NOTE.

SICILY, also called Trinacria, from its three headlands.

It is worthy of note that the badge of three legs was originally used by Sicily (Trinacria).

“Joan, the sister of King John of England (1199-1215), married William II., King of Sicily. The three-legged badge, which first appears in the records of MANN (Isle of Man) about 1266, had previously been the badge of Sicily (Trinacria) for 150 years.”—Extract from Colonel Ottley Perry's *Ranks, Badges and Dates*, published by W. Clowes & Sons.

